THE UNIT OF GOVERNMENT IN THE AMERICAN TRADE UNION

DISSERTATION

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by

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PREFACE

This monograph forms part of a series of investigations into various phases of American trade unionism that, for some years, have been undertaken by members of the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. In gathering material, the author has had access to the trade union publications at the Johns Hopkins University, and at the headquarters of various unions. The file of the National Labor Tribune at Pittsburg has been used for early conditions among the coal miners, iron and steel workers, and glass workers. A few pamphlets, files of contemporary newspapers, and other documents relating the history of local trade unionism in America have also been examined. This study of documentary sources has been supplemented by personal observation and by interviews with prominent American labor leaders.

At every stage of the work, the author has received valuable advice and assistance from Professor Jacob H. Hollander and Dr. George E. Barnett, of the Johns Hopkins University.

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CHAPTER I

THE SHOP MEETING

The basic unit of government in the American trade union is the mass meeting of members. Such meetings are sometimes held by the journeymen employed in each shop, mine, factory, or other form of commercial or manufacturing establishment. But more frequently and more periodically, they are convoked by the members of a trade, or by a certain class of workers at a trade in the several "shops" of a particular locality. The first of these popular assemblies is termed the "shop meeting"; the second is commonly known as the "local". All other units of government are delegate councils, created by the federation of shop meetings or locals into district, state, and national and international unions.

The formation of permanently organized unions is, however, usually preceded by a period of unorganized resistance, during which the journeymen of a craft, when aroused suddenly by the threat of a reduction of wages or some other specific grievance, frequently decide without forethought or preparation to walk out on strike. Sometimes, such unorganized movements are limited to the members of a single shop or factory. Sometimes, they involve all the journeymen of a trade in a locality.

As a rule, however, these unorganized strikes are confined to the employees of a single industrial establishment. After the destruction of the short-lived Bates Union of 1849, no attempt was made to organize

the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania until 1868, when in June of that year the Workman's Benevolent Association of Schuykill County was formed. Yet, during the interval of disorganization, the miners did not passively endure their low wages, and dilapidated houses, or the mulcting of their earnings by the high-priced company stores. On the contrary, isolated strikes of but a single colliery, incited by the bolder and more turbulent spirits, broke out now at one mine, and now at another. But, as these movements were spontaneous and disunited, the employers always succeeded in quickly crushing them.[1]

As late as 1885, there existed among the hatters of Danbury, Conn., an ancient institution known as the "shop call", whose origin, antedating the organization of a permanent union among the craft, can be traced, it is said, far back into colonial times. For many years, any man, woman, or child, working in a hat factory, who felt that he or she had a grievance, yelled "shop called". Immediately, a meeting of all the employees of the shop was held, and the complaint was laid before them. If the grievance was considered just, a committee was appointed to wait upon the employer; and, if this committee reported

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1 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, p. 328. Harrisburg, 1874.

a rejection of its demands, then the members of the shop in meeting assembled, would decide to walk out on strike.[1] Shop strikes frequently occur at the present day in non-unionized trades, and are quoted by labor leaders to illustrate their statement that the strike preceded, and was not created by the trade union.

The "shop" undoubtedly developed at an early date some simple, informal machinery of government. It elected someone to preside at the meetings, and committees to lay the demands of the journeymen before the employer. The New York Typographical Society, organized in 1831, formed the journeymen of each printing office into a "chapel". The chapel held meetings whenever a disagreement arose with the employer or between the journeymen themselves, and was presided over by the so-called "father of the chapel".[2] This very simple form of government had existed, for many years, in the printing shops both of England and America.

So long, however, as meetings of journeymen were held within the confines of an industrial establishment, they continued to be of this informal character, and were so inconvenient that they could only be convoked at long intervals as some difficulty arose with employers. The employees in each industrial establishment might, indeed,

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1 New Haven Register, December 1893.

2 Constitution of the New York Typographical Association of June 1831, as amended in 1833.

have formed themselves into a constitutionally organized body with meeting quarters outside of the shop or factory. In this way, the members of a trade in each place would have been divided into as many unions as there were shops in such locality.

Certain conditions demanded, however, close co-operation between the journeymen of a trade in all shops of a given locality, and made necessary the immediate rise of the so-called local union with jurisdiction over all members of a craft in a single town or city. In the first place, if the men in one shop succeeded in raising wages, their fellow-craftsmen in neighboring establishments would compete for such choice employment, and, by underbidding, force wages down to the original level. In the second place, an employer resisted most stubbornly attempts to make him pay more wages than his competitors. The number of journeymen in each shop was, moreover, certainly during the infancy of American trade unionism, usually too small to enable them without considerable financial strain to rent a hall, pay officers salaries, and meet all expenses, incident to the maintenance of a well-organized society. In other words, the government of one large mass meeting was more economical than the government of many small ones. Finally, the beneficiary aims of early trade societies also rendered advantageous, from a financial standpoint, as large a membership as possible. In nearly

all trades, therefore, the first governmental trade body, possessing a constitution, meeting at regular intervals, and bargaining with employers according to certain definite policies, is not the "shop meeting" but the local trade union.

In certain trades, however, where the industrial establishments are exceptionally large and widely scattered, the journeymen working for each employer constitute a separate basic mass meeting; and all other units of government are delegate councils. The miners at each colliery form a numerous and more or less isolated body. As a rule, therefore, they meet separately, and constitute what corresponds to the local union in other trades. At first, informal meetings were held, whenever an emergency required, either in the pit, or on the open common near the shaft of the mine.[1] But, after some difficulty, the miners were slowly persuaded to hire a hall, meet at regular intervals, and adopt a constitution. Great mass meetings of the miners at all pits in the vicinity of a certain town have, indeed, been convoked, but only very occasionally, and for a specific purpose. In the bituminous coal fields of Western Pennsylvania, the miners at one colliery often filled the contracts of a neighboring pit, where the men were on strike. The miners who consented to do this,

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[1] National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 24, p. 5, July 23, 1883.

were said to "blackleg"; and, when it occurred, the miners of all other colliers in that vicinity would occasionally hold a great mass meeting, pass resolutions of remonstrance, and sometimes march in a procession to the blackleg ing pit, there to camp until the men laid down their picks.[1]

In the window-glass industry, the factories are all large; and, usually, there is only one plant in each town. So the several international unions of window-glass workers organize[2] the men in each establishment into a governmental body, known as the "preceptory". When there are two or more window-glass factories in the same place, a joint preceptory is created. That is, one joint preceptor, and an assistant preceptor for each plant are elected. Sometimes, the men in the several glass plants of a locality organize themselves into one large mass meeting. There has, however, been considerable opposition to these joint sessions. At the first annual convention of the recently formed Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America, a resolution was adopted to the effect that each glass fac-

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1 National Labor Tribune, 8th year, July 28, 1880.

2 There are several dual or rival federal unions of window glass workers. The Window Glass Workers' Association of America and the United Window Glass Workers' Association of America amalgamated in 1904 to form the Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America. An assembly of the Knights of Labor, known as Local Assembly 300, K. of L. has existed since 1880. A portion of two branches of the craft have also organized themselves separately under the title, the Window Glass Cutters' and Flatteners' Association of America.

tory meet separately as an individual preceptory.[1]

Among the shirt, waist, and laundry workers of Troy, the employees in each factory at first constituted a separate union. The United Laundry Workers, chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1899, permitted the members of one "shop union" to enroll a laundry worker employed in another factory, provided they were given neither voice nor vote in the meetings. But, when ten laundry workers from some other factory had been admitted, they must be organized into a separate union. In case of custom or small laundries, however, a mixed trade union of members working in several shops could be formed.[2] When, in 1900, the laundry workers were merged into the Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers International Union, no such rules were adopted; and it appears to be the general policy of the present association to organize in each city, either a single local, or several locals, one for each branch of the trade.

When there are only a very few members of a trade in each shop, the paucity of numbers may, in some places, not justify the somewhat elaborate machinery of an organized

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1 Proceedings of the first annual convention, Amalgamated Window Glass Workers of America, Cleveland, Ohio, July 11-19, 1905, p. 116. (Cleveland, n.d.).

2 Constitution and By-Laws of the United Laundry Workers, Article 111. Troy, 1899.

local; and governmentby an informal shop meeting, convoked within the walls of the factory, is often more desirable. The print cutters make the wooden rollers used in printing wall-paper. A manufacturer of wall-paper sometimes prepares his own rollers. Sometimes, they are made by small jobbers. In either case, since the demand for rollers is so limited, only a mere handful of print cutters are found in each shop or factory. As a consequence, even in places where several shops are located, the total number of print cutters is so small that the formation of a local union is often not deemed advisable. In fact, only four locals have been chartered by the National Print Cutters' Association in New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and New Brunswick, N. J., respectively. In other cities, the men employed in each shop hold meetings, elect a clerk who collects dues, and enforces the observance of union rules, and also a committee which has charge of the label, and lays the grievances of the men before the employer. The members of a shop cannot, however, strike, or take any decisive step without consulting the nearest local, because, it is urged, if power is vested in such a small body, the several members, or the most prominent among them, can be so readily reached and injured by their employers.

The Machine Textile Printers of America, who print cotton and woolen goods, compose a trade organized

under similar conditions. Whether textiles are printed by the manufacturer or the small jobber, the number of machine printers to each shop or mill is small. The machine textile printers have no local unions, but maintain in each establishment an informal shop organization. The shops are federated into four distinct unions, known respectively as the Eastern, the Western, the Northern, and the Southern. At the head of each district is the "delegate" to the national board of directors, and conventions of representatives from each shop within the district are held at intervals.[1]

In the railway unions, the members are organized, whenever practicable, according to the railroad upon which they are employed. The Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers permit five or more engineers, working on the same railway system to organize a lodge or local sub-division on the system as represented, to maintain between them co-operation in bargaining with a common employer. All the men working upon an entire railroad system, can also be given opportunity to vote on questions which concern them as a whole. In some instances, however, the Brotherhood has found it necessary to organize a mixed sub-division of engineers, who run engines on

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1 Rules, Regulations, and By-Laws of the Machine Printers Beneficial Association of the United States. (Pautucket, R. I., 1886). The constitution of 1886 is still enforced to-day.

different roads. When such a sub-division is formed, a "local committee of adjustment" must be selected for each railroad represented in the lodge. Moreover, the mixed local must have a delegate upon the general committee of adjustment of each system upon which twelve or more of its members are working.[1] While the remainder of the train crew, the firemen, the conductors, and the brakemen, do not definitely insist in the written constitution of their national associations that, whenever practicable, the members must be formed into sub-divisions according to the system upon which employed, such is, indeed, their general policy.

Even the yardmen, whose work is stationary in character, whose wages vary at different points on the same railroad, and whose methods of bargaining are, perhaps, somewhat more localized than that of the other railroad employees, have found the plan of organizing according to railway systems advantageous in many cases. Thus, the Switchmen's Union of Buffalo included, at first, all switchmen working in the yards of the New York Central, Michigan Central, Lake Shore, Nickle Plate, and other lines running into that city. But the inconvenience of a governmental body whose members paid a divided allegiance to several local and general committees of adjustment was soon manifest.

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1 Constitution and Statutes of the Grand International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Revised 1904. Constitution, Section 50. Standing Rules, Sections 1-2. Cleveland, 1904.

Moreover, in this particular case, the men employed by the New York Central formed a majority of the union, and, at the meetings, would cause all questions relating to their own system, questions upon which, in all probability, only themselves could vote, to be considered early in the evening. Matters of interest to switchmen on other roads were delayed until midnight, and sometimes not considered at all. Much ill-feeling was engendered; and to-day there are six switchmen's lodges in Buffalo, one for each line having terminal facilities in that city. But, in many places, the yardmen on all railroads are organized into one local.

The International Association of Machinists includes railway machinists in addition to those working in navy yards, general repair shops, and machine factories. It is impracticable to organize the members according to the particular railroad shop in which they are employed. But, as a rule, all machinists working in the same locality are formed into a single union.

Nevertheless, it has been found necessary to organize the machinists in all shops of the same railroad into a district union. A district union of another kind is formed by federating all lodges within a certain territorial area. In consequence, a lodge may belong to several districts; and considerable confusion has existed concerning the exact relation of members to those various dis-

tricts, as, for example, in the matter of dues.[1] It has, also, been found difficult to secure co-operation between all machinists upon the same railroad system, when they are divided among a number of these composite unions.[2]

In New York City, the association of printers, known as New York Typographical Union, No. 6, embraces several thousand journeymen. The membership meetings of the unions have become much too large for governmental efficiency. But the rule of the Typographical Union that "only one English speaking subordinate union in any distinctive craft shall be chartered in the same place", prevents the sub-division of the members into smaller and more managable governmental bodies. The New York Typographical Union, for a time attempted to solve the difficulty by using the meetings of printers in the shop or chapel as the basic mass meeting, and, by transforming the local union into a representative council composed of delegates elected from the several shops. The plan did not work well however and was finally abandoned.

But, as has been said, in the great majority of trades, the journeymen are organized into governmental

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1 Proceedings of the ninth convention of the International Association of Machinists, Toronto, Can., June 3-11, 1901. (In Machinists' Monthly Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 8 (Supplement). Washington, August, 1901.

2 Machinists' Journal, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 105, Richmond, Va., April, 1893.

units according to the locality in which they work. The members of a trade in any place are, indeed, often subdivided in two or more local unions according to branch of the trade, nationality, sex, color, and sometimes merely for administrative convenience. But only in the few exceptional instances recorded above, and, in those cases where there is only one shop or factory of an industry in a locality, do the employees of a single commercial or manufacturing establishment form a permanent, constitutionally organized body.

In most trades the shop meeting has, indeed, been retained but remains informal in character, and is convoked only on rare occasions. Meetings held within the factory itself are, however, so inconvenient, that all power is often practically delegated to a small committee. The constitution of the New York Typographical Society for 1833, provided that "if the majority in large offices, decide to delegate their power to chapels, consisting of five, seven, or nine members, of which the father to be always one, it shall be competent for them to do so". As long as the miners held their meetings in the pit, all real power was often vested in the pit committee of three or five members. In a few cases, shop meetings have, on account of objections from employers, been absolutely forbidden. The hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn. long

opposed the interruptions to work caused by the frequent "shop calls" of their employees. While such meetings were being held, the fires, they declared, went out, and the felt in the process of preparation was ruined.

So in 1885, the manufacturers obtained from the local union an agreement by which "shop calls" were prohibited. Every grievance was, in future, to be submitted to a small committee; and the men were to remain at work pending its adjustment.

The shop has, moreover, been plucked of its most important powers. The wage scale, the number of hours in the working day, the term of apprenticeship, and all internal regulations of the union are usually fixed by the local for all members working within its jurisdiction. Since each manufacturer of women's garments has certain styles of his own; and, since these styles may be changed daily, the wage per piece is, indeed, fixed by the shop committees of the ladies' garment workers every time a new style is introduced. Moreover, in the different hat factories of Danbury, Conn., methods of production are said to vary widely; and, at the desire of the manufacturers, wages and hours are regulated by agreement between the employers and employees of each factory. Such cases are, however, exceptions to the general rule. Frequently, the employees in an industrial establishment are permitted by the local union to bring to the attention of their employer, through their shop committee or chief shop official, alleged violations of a local agreement, or of general rules,

enforced by the power of the union. But, in the building trades, where the work is of a shifting character, it has been difficult by means of a shop steward, elected only for the job, to compel contractors to abide faithfully by their agreements. In factory industries, shop officials can, indeed, be elected for long terms, by co-workers, who through long acquaintance with each other are qualified to select the best man. Nevertheless, it has been found that manufacturers often regard the employees selected to bring a grievance to their notice, as agitators, or disturbing elements, and show a tendency to single them out for dismissal upon the first opportunity. Therefore, in the building trades, and in some factory industries as well, even the preliminary bargaining over the alleged violation of existing agreements is conducted by a paid official of the local union, sometimes known as the business representative, or walking delegate. The shop is, in fact, now used principally as an executive unit in the administration of the local union. An officer variously known as the steward, collector, or clerk, is, for example usually elected by the shop to report all matters of importance to the meeting of the local, collect dues, superintend the use of the label, and perform other executive duties.

CHAPTER 11

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF LOCAL UNIONS

From about the close of the eighteenth century to the foundation of the National Typographical Union in 1851, the local and the shop meeting were the only form of governmental units, employed by trade organizations in the United States. The shop meeting was, however, as has been pointed out in the preceeding chapter, always an informal, emergency gathering of the men employed in an industrial establishment. The history of American trade unionism, as a permanent governmental institution, therefore, really begins with the sporadic local unions, which, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, were organized by the journeymen of a few trades chiefly in the large seaport towns of the Atlantic coast.

As the shop-meeting was foreshadowed in many trades, during a period of unorganized existence by the shop-strike, so the local union was similarly pretypified by the general strike of the as yet unorganized members of a trade throughout a certain community. Of such a character was probably the strike of the New York journeymen bakers in 1741; and another instance was the strike of sailors, which occurred in the same city in 1802.

In that year, a number of sailors in New York harbor, who were receiving ten dollars a month, struck for fourteen dollars,"formed in a body, marched about the city, and compelled seamen employed at the old rates to leave their

ships and join them.[1]

A more developed stage in the emergence of the local trade union was the "general meeting" called, at an early date, by the printers throughout a given locality, whenever some specific grievance demanded consideration. If a strike was decided upon by the meeting, a temporary government was established. Certain officers and committees were elected; and, during the continuance of the strike, a number of meetings were held. But, with the success or failure of the strike, all meetings were discontinued. Thus the journeymen printers of New York united as early as 1776 to demand from their employers an increase of wages, and, upon being refused, called a general strike. All joint coöperation ended, however, with their defeat. In 1786, certain printers of Philadelphia met one evening in the house of a fellow craftsman to consider the question of a threatened reduction of wages. They decided not to work for less than the existing scale, and agreed to support any printer who might be thrown out of employment through conformity with this policy. A set of resolutions, embodying these decisions, was drawn up, and signed by twenty-six printers, probably the majority of competent men in the city at that time. But this movement, apparently like the first, had no existence beyond the

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1 J. B. McMaster: "A History of the People of the United States, Vol. 11, p. 618.

accomplishment of the purpose for which it was created.[1]

The rise of permanently organized local trade societies in the United States dates from about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Prior to that time, conditions were unfavorable to the growth of trade unions. Manufactured commodities were largely imported from Europe; and articles produced in America were usually made on the plantation or in the home. Even in the larger cities, wollen and cotton cloth were, when not imported, frequently spun and made up into wearing apparel by members of the household. A Baltimore newspaper published in the closing years of the eighteenth century declares: "Many of the most elegant belles that trip our streets are covered with superb shawls, and otherwise protected from the cold by the labor of their own hands,- hands that hitherto chiefly held a romance or touched a piano. These household manufactures are a sort of clear gain to our country; and we particularly exult at the progress they make".

There early arose, however, in small as well as large towns, the shoemaker, the tailor, and the blacksmith; and, in agricultural districts, the tinker, the cobbler, and other travelling craftsmen soon began to wander from plantation to plantation. About the beginning of the nineteenth

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1 Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61 - November 1905, p. 860.

century, there was, moreover, a spirited effort to make the newly created American nation economically as well as politically independent of the mother country. Societies for the encouragement of domestic manufactures were formed in all parts of the country. The agitation to foister American industries took many forms. Men and women pledged themselves only to wear garments of American manufacture. The Virginia legislature decreed that its members should, after the first day of December, 1809, appear in clothes of home manufacture. A few days before the Fourth-of-July celebration of 1809, we find several Baltimore merchants informing their patrons through the advertising columns of the daily newspapers that a stock of cotton cloth of American manufacture had just been received; and patriotic citizens who wished to be clad in homespun on the ensuing birthday of the national independence, were urged to come and buy.[1]

But in many of the early American industries, it was the handicraft and not the factory system which prevailed. About 1800, we find, for example, the embodiment of the modern journeyman cigar maker in the so-called "tobacconist", who combined in one and the same individual the journeyman, the master, and the retailer. This tobacconist, moreover, manufactured and retailed not only cigars but also such pro-

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[1] Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, Nos. 3156-3158, June 28-30, 1809.

ducts as snuff and smoking tobacco. Even in trades where a class of wage earners distinct from the masters had arisen, it frequently required little capital to set up in business for oneself. Journeymen mechanics commanded, therefore, relatively high wages, and enjoyed considerable independence.

Under such conditions, trade unionism was unnecessary. Guilds might, indeed, be formed. In fact, as early as 1648, we find that a guild of boot and shoe makers was incorporated by the colonial legislature of Massachusetts.[1] Later, in 1724, a guild of carpenters was formed in Philadelphia, and still exists as a sort of fraternal and benevolent association even at the present day.

During the period, however, from about the close of the eighteenth century to the war of 1812, many associations composed wholly of journeymen were formed. But they were frequently designed solely for benevolent purposes. New York was especially rich in these workingmen's beneficial societies, twenty-four being incorporated in that state during decade between 1800 and 1810. The scope of their benevolent activities varied widely. But primarily they were designed to give financial relief to sick members, and to pay a death or funeral benefit to the widow or other surviving relative. These societies were in regard to membership,

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[1] Industrial History of the United States, by Albert S. Bolles, p. 447.

of two kinds. The first class was composed of artisans following all sorts of trades, such as the Albany Mechanical Society, the Catskill Mechanical Society, and the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the County of Kings, all incorporated during this early period. In the large cities, such associations were limited in membership to the journeymen of a single craft, as, for example, the New York Masons' Society, composed of bricklayers, stone masons and plasterers, and the New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights, both of which were incorporated in 1807.[1]

McMaster in his History of the People of the United States is authority for the statement that early societies, comprising journeymen of but a single trade "were almost invariably for the purpose of regulating wages".[2] Our information concerning them is, however, so meagre that it is difficult either to corroborate or definitely refute such a statement. Frequently, indeed, our only source of information is a vague and casual reference in some contemporary newspaper. In many cases, therefore, it is impossible to determine what was the exact nature of their activities.

The few extant records of associations formed during this period, show, in fact, a trifold variation of function. Thus, the rules of association and minutes of meetings

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1 McMaster: A History of the People of the United States, Vol. 111, p. 511. New York, 1892.

2 Ibid.

during a period of nearly thirty years reveal that the Society of Brotherhood Carpenters, founded at Halifax, Nova Scotia in 1798, was designed solely to give aid to the sick and to relieve from financial distress the widows of deceased members.[1]

On the other hand, the Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York, an organization of boot and shoe workers formed probably about 1805, wholly devoted its energies to strengthening the industrial position of the craft. In the preamble to their constitution, the cordwainers declare that the society has been created "to guard against the intrigues or artifices that may at any time be used by our employers to reduce our wages lower than what we deem an adequate regard for our labour". The association maintained a scale of wages for its members, and engaged in several "stand outs" or strikes to compel employers to pay it. Members were also forbidden under penalty of a fine to work "on the seat with any person or persons" who did not belong to the society. But nowhere in the constitution of the organization is there provision for the payment of a sick or a death benefit.[2]

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1 Rules and Regulations and Minutes of Meetings for the Society of Brotherhood Carpenters begun at Halifax, Nova Scotia, the 16th of February, 1898. (MS).

2 Constitution, contained in the account of the "Trial of the Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York, for a Conspiracy to Raise their Wages". Reported by William Sampson, Esq. New York, 1810.

A third class of early trade associations had both industrial and benevolent aims. In the first constitution of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, established in 1802, provision is made not only for sick and funeral benefits but also for what was practically an incipient strike benefit. Whenever a member was thrown out of employment because he refused to take less than the established rate of wages, the "board of directors" advanced him, weekly, a sum sufficient to defray his ordinary expenses. If such a member by reason of sickness or otherwise should be unable to refund the money so advanced, the sum was defrayed by a levy on the members. The Philadelphia society of printers also formulated scales of wages which it demanded from employers; and members were forbidden under threat of expulsion to work below this scale. In general, the society was an industrially belligerent association of journeymen. To the public, however, it laid emphasis on its benevolent features. The real trade policies of the organization were discussed and formulated in executive session. Many printers joined the society believing that its aims were wholly benevolent. In consequence, there were, until its final transformation, about 1831, in a purely beneficial organization, always two factions in the society, the one urging that its trade policies be made ever more aggressive, the other insisting that such industrial aims be abandoned and that the system of benefits

be more widely extended.[1]

As has been said, trade societies, designed for collective bargaining, began to appear towards the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries; and this period may be termed the germinal era of American trade unionism. About this time, the rush of settlers to the frontier, and the demand of sailors for the merchant marine had greatly drained the supply of unskilled laborers, and perceptibly raised their wages. Such unskilled workmen were sometimes receiving more or as high a remuneration as was paid to skilled mechanics. The latter were naturally greatly incensed by such conditions, and, about this time, began to initiate strikes and to organize trade societies in the hope of forcing up their wages.

The early trade union movement was confined chiefly to the large cities, where the differentiation between an employing and an employed class had taken place in many industries. In Baltimore, for example, Independence Day of 1809 was celebrated by a huge industrial parade. The masters marched in one column, the journeymen in another; and the contemporary descriptions of the parade are interesting as a revelation of the number of industries in which a class of journeymen mechanics distinct from the masters had arisen.

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1 Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61- November 1905., p. 864-869. Also Appendix A, No. 1.

In the list of those in the line of march are found such trades as the boot and shoe workers, the hatters, the ship-building and the house-building trades, the tailors, the coachmakers, printers, coppersmiths, comb-makers, tallow-chandlers, block- and pump-makers, tanners and curriers, weavers, and others.[1] Similar bodies of journeymen mechanics existed in the other large Atlantic seaports, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. In each of these cities, therefore, during the decade from 1800 to 1810, the number of workingmen's associations, organized wholly or in part for the purpose of bargaining collectively with employers attained some proportions.

Three industries in particular were encouraged by the colonies on account of the abundance, cheapness, and availability of raw materials, and had attained some considerable size even in colonial times. In these industries, therefore, the distinction between employer and employee was closely drawn with some rigidity; and in the large industrial centers, local unions of the trade were early formed for the purpose of maintaining a uniform wage scale, and uniform hours for all the journeymen of a trade, working in a town, or its immediate vicinity.

Cattle were, for example, even before the revolution extensively used in all the colonies, and particularly

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1 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3159. July 1, 1809.

in New England. The possibility of utilizing the hides for the home manufacture of shoes induced some of the colonies to prohibit the export of raw hides; and this legislation, though unavailing in the south, was quite successful in New England. The shoemakers in the colony of Massachusetts had, by 1648, so increased in numbers that they were in that year, incorporated into a guild by an act of the legislature.[1] By the close of the eighteenth century, the industry had also attained considerable proportions in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; and shoes were exported from those cities to Charleston, S. C., Richmond, Norfolk, Petersburg, Alexandria, and other points in the south.[2] Certain grades of shoes were also manufactured in Baltimore and other cities, for the West Indian trade, and for the use of settlers in the Western Country.[3]

Finally, in 1792, an organization of boot and shoe workers, known as the Society of Journeymen Cordwainers, was formed in Philadelphia. It was dissolved, however, the same year, because some members refused to promise under solemn

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1 See page 21

2 Trial of the Boot and Shoe Workers of Philadelphia on an Indictment for a Combination and Conspiracy to Raise their Wages. Philadelphia, 180[illegible].

3 For example, see advertisements in the Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XX, No. 3186, August 1, 1809.

oath not to accept work at less than the rate of wages fixed upon by the society. In 1794, the association was reorganized, and, at once adopted a vigorous and belligerent policy in its relations with the employers. Three "turnouts" or strikes followed one another in rapid succession; and each time an increase of wages was obtained. On one occasion, the masters attempted on their side, to reduce wages; and an obstinate "turnout" of many weeks duration resulted. After a few weeks, the journeymen offered, as a compromise, to accept one half of the reduction demanded by the employers. But this proposal was refused. At length, the master cordwainers began to waver; and, finally the men returned to work at the same wages which they had received before the turnout.

Not only did the Philadelphia cordwainers engage in strikes; but they also pursued other trade policies, which are commonly associated with modern trade unionism. In the first place, the association attempted to enforce the policy of the closed shop. Members of the society were forbidden to board or work on the same seat with journeymen who refused to join the "body", or had been expelled for some violation of its rules. If a master shoemaker insisted upon employing such non-society journeymen or "scabs", as they were called even at that early date, his shop was abandoned by every journeyman belonging to the "body". This coercive measure seldom failed. For the society embraced the larger part of the best workmen in the town. Should the non-conformist, discharged from one

shop, find employment elsewhere, the "body" still pursued him. Pressure to secure his dismissal was, each time, brought on the new master, until, at last, the man either joined the "body", or was driven from the city.

Intimidation of "scabs, proceeding sometimes to the length of physical violence, is another feature of modern trade unionism which was not lacking during those early days. When, in 1805, the members of this society were brought to trial for criminal conspiracy, one witness testified: "The name of a scab is very dangerous. Men of this description have been hurt when out at nights. I myself have been threatened, for working at wages with which I was satisfied. I was afraid ofgoing near any members of the body. I have seen them twisting and making wry faces at me, and heard two men call out scab, as I passed by. I was obliged to join the body for fear of personal injury". One of the masters also declared: "At the turn out in 1798, I had six men working for me, who were willing to continue notwithstanding the turnout. These men were kept up in a garret; but sometimes, after dark, they would venture out to Mrs. Finch's to get a drink of beer. One Sunday evening, when I was going to meeting with my wife and the boy, they ventured out again. When I returned, I found them hid away in the cellar. They had been beaten."[1]

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[1] The Trial of the Boot and Shoemakers of Philadelphia on an

Reference has already been made to the belligerent trade association of journeymen cordwainers, which existed in New York City, certainly prior to 1804, and possibly some years earlier.

In Baltimore, the boot and shoe makers were organized before 1809 under the title Journeymen Cordwainers' Society of Baltimore. They numbered at this time more than two hundred and seventy members, and were apparently as aggressive in the maintenance of their industrial rights as the sister societies of the craft in New York and Philadelphia. In 1809, the "republican" or "democratic" party, which, in Baltimore was composed largely of the working classes, decided to celebrate the Fourth of July by a huge industrial parade. In this procession, the cordwainers took part, wearing white aprons on which were printed the cordwainers arms,- three goat heads,- and bearing aloft banners on which were represented their patron saints, Crispin and Crispiana,[1] the first holding a boot and the second a shoe.[2]

Hat making was another early colonial industry. In 1731, a special committee of the English Parliament reported

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Indictment for a Combination and Conspiracy to Raise their Wages. Taken in short-hand by Thomas Lloyd. Philadelphia, 1806.

1 It is interesting to note in this connection that the name of St. Crispin figures in the title of the first national organization of boot and shoe workers, formed in this country in 1869. It was known as the Grand Lodge of the Knights of St. Crispian.

2 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3163. July 8, 1809.

that ten thousand hats were made in the American colonies yearly; and some of them were even exported to Europe and the West Indies.[1] The little town of Danbury, Conn., is a particularly old center of the industry; and old inhabitants declare that trade societies of hatters existed there, perhaps as far back as revolutionary times. A travelling card which has been preserved, bears the date of 1796, and was used by journeymen hatters who left Danbury in search of work and wished to transfer their membership to another society. There also exists a constitution of the Hatters' Beneficent Society of Danbury. The pamphlet bears no date. But, contained in it, there is a list of members, embracing the names of men prominently identified with the hatting interests of the town three quarters of a century or more ago. The association, therefore, must have had its origin very early in the nineteenth century. So far, however, as the provisions of the constitution show, the purpose of the society was wholly benevolent. Financial assistance was given to sick and disabled members; and, upon death, the funeral expenses were defrayed by the society.[2] There was a Hatters' Society of New York in 1809.[3] Societies of hatters also existed in Baltimore

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[1] Industrial History of the United States, by Albert S. Bolles, p. 392.

[2] Constitution of the Hatters' Beneficent Society of Danbury. Reprinted in Danbury Evening News, October 27, 1905.

[3] The Baltimore Whig, Vol. III., July 8, 1809.

and in Philadelphia about this time. In Baltimore, the members of this craft to the number of one hundred and twenty, took part in the industrial parade, occurring in that city on the fourth of July, 1809. Two of the motto-bearers borne by the hatters in this procession reflect the dual activities of their society. The one read: "With the industry of the beaver, we support our rights". The other declared: "We assist each other in time of need".[1]

A third industry actively carried on at an early date in all of the large seaport towns was that of ship-building. As early as 1724, the journeymen caulkers of Boston had formed the Caulkers' Club. The purposes of this club were, however, wholly political. It was, in fact, designed "to lay plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power."[2] Tradition also says that the plan to throw the tea into the Boston Harbor was concocted in the hall of the ship caulkers. But no associations of caulkers have as yet been traced, certainly prior to the close of the eighteenth century. The New York Society of Journeymen Shipwrights which was incorporated April 3, 1807, is often enumerated as a belligerant or protective trade union.[3] But, since strikes,

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1 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3163. July 8, 1809.

2 See Hosmers' "Samuel Adams", in the American Statesmen Series.

3 For example, see Richard T. Ely's "The Labor Movement in America"; p. 38.

the enforcement of the closed shop, and other policies employed by trade organizations to improve the industrial position of their members, were, at the time, held by the courts to constitute criminal conspiracy, and hence were penal offenses, it is improbable that legal recognition could have been extended by incorporation to societies, avowedly formed for such purposes. If, therefore, this society had trade or industrial aims, they were wholly secret. Baltimore was also an early ship-building center; and the fast sailing clippers constructed in Baltimore during this period are mentioned in every industrial history. Concerning early unions in the Baltimore ship-building trades, nothing definite can be stated. There was, about 1809, a Rope Makers' Association, and also it would seem, unions of ship-carpenters and ship-joiners. But what were their purposes or general character, it is impossible, with our present information, to say.

In certain typical city industries, such as house building, the distinction between employer and employee also early arose, particularly in the large towns. As early as 1791, the Union Society of Carpenters at Philadelphia ordered a turnout in order to secure a shorter working-day. They complained that in summer they were forced to toil from sunrise to sunset, and, in winter, were put on piecework. They demanded a working-day of ten hours, from six in the morning to six at night, with an hour for breakfast and another for

dinner. The movement, however, apparently came to nothing.[1] There was a union of the carpenters of the city and precincts of Baltimore as early as 1800.[2] But it was incorporated, and hence was *prima facie* a beneficial association.

Reference has already been made to the organization of bricklayers, stone-masons, and plasterers, known as the New York Masons' Society, which was incorporated for beneficial purposes in 1807.[3] In Baltimore, about this time, the plasterers were organized into one society,[4] and the bricklayers into another. The union of bricklayers was known as the Journeymen Bricklayers' Beneficial Society of Baltimore, and, as far as its title indicates, would appear to have been a purely fraternal and benevolent association.[5] There is extant to-day a scale of prices, which, in 1809, was drawn up for the masons of Boston by a "large and respectable committee of the first workmen of the town", and was signed by one

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1 McMaster: A History of the People of the United States, Vol. V, p. 84. New York, 1900.

2 The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, Vol. 21, No. , January 1, 1800.

3 See page 2[illegible]

4 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3159. July 1, 1809.

5 The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser, Vol. XXX, No. 4698. June 21, 1809.

hundred and ten members of the profession."[1] But there is no evidence that a local organization of masons existed in that city. It is even difficult to determine from the document itself whether it is a scale of wages demanded by journeymen from their employers or a list of prices charged by masons to the general building public. In the same year, 1809, we learn, indeed, from a Baltimore newspaper of the period that "a book of rates and prices" was, in that city prepared by a committee of master bricklayers and masons, and subsequently adopted at "a general meeting of the undertakers in the above branch of the business."[2] A society of journeymen painters and colormen had been formed in Baltimore by 1809.[3] In New York City, there also existed about 1824 a union of journeymen house painters the date of whose origin is unknown.[4]

The granite cutters and the soft stone cutters

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1 The Rules of Work of the Masons in the Town of Boston. Revised and Corrected and the Prices Fixed by a Large and Respectable Committee of the First Workmen in the Town; Approved and Subscribed to by the Principal Part of the Profession. May 1, 1809. Boston, 1809.

2 In the light of present-day popular condemnation of agreements between manufacturers or railway magnates to fix rates and prices for the consumer, one statement made by this committee of master bricklayers and masons is interesting. "It is presumed", declares the committee in the call for a general meeting of contractors, "that no undertaker can feel himself hurt in point of respectability by meeting with his fellow workmen in order to accomplsih an object so much wanted". The Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser, Vol. XX, No. 3308, December 13, 1809.

3 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3157. June, 1809.

4 The New York Evening Post, April 4, 1834.

claim that organizations of their trades existed early in the century. Certain legendary accounts reveal, indeed, that considerable esprit de corps existed among them at an early date. The Washington stonecutters are said to have marched in a body at the laying of the corner stone of the Capitol in 1792. The Washington union is of many years standing; and there is a tradition that a conflict took place in 1829 concerning the hours and wages of stonecutters working on the White House. The stone which was laid on July 4, 1828, to commemorate the commencement of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was presented by the stonecutters of Baltimore. The stonecutters of New York had an organization by 1833; and, in the headquarters of the present local union in Newark, there hangs an old silk banner, which bears the inscription "Founded in 1834".[1] The organized Granite Cutters of Baltimore, in 1832, secured the passage of an act by the Maryland legislature, prohibiting state convicts from cutting granite. Moreover, the plant in which the convicts had been employed was bought from the state by the Granite Cutters themselves.[2] So far, however, as the records have yet revealed, no societies of hard or soft stone cutters existed prior to the war of 1812.

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1 Reports of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XVII, p. 162. Washington, 1901.

2 The American Federationist, Vol. 10, p. 379. Washington, May, 1903.

The printers vie with the shoemakers for priority in the date of their earliest organizations. The first union of printers was probably the Typographical Society of New York, created in 1795. This association lived only about two and a half years; but, during its short existence, an increase of wages was secured for the membership. In 1799, The Franklin Typographical Society of Journeymen Printers of New York was formed. It formulated the first complete wage scale for the printers of that city, and went on strike for its enforcement. The organization ceased to exist in 1804; but the bill of prices which it had formulated, remained the standard of wages until the rise of the New York Typographical Society in 1809.

The New York Typographical Society, while it gave considerable prominence to its benevolent features, nevertheless also took a radical and aggressive stand in matters of trade concern. Immediately upon the formation of the society, a new scale of wages was drawn up, and a strike was inaugurated to compel its acceptance by the master printers. The organization was also a pioneer in its attitude towards apprenticeship. The masters frequently took on raw, untrained grown men, particularly foreigners, and these men, after serving only a part of the regular term of apprenticeship were given employment as skilled journeymen. This policy of turning out "halfway journeymen" or "two thirders", as they were later called, the society strongly opposed, and thus inaugurated an issue which was to be a storm center of

the struggle between journeymen printers and their employers for more than fifty years. From the beginning, no person was admitted to the society who had not served an apprenticeship of three years. In 1811, a rules was adopted that members should not work with journeymen who had entered upon their apprenticeship after attaining the age of manhood.[1]

Reference has already been made to the beneficial and industrial activities of the Philadelphia Typographical Society, founded in 1802. In Baltimore, the society of printers, known as the Baltimore Typographical Society, was in existence some years before the outbreak of the war of 1812. In the industrial procession of July 4, 1809, the printers marched together with the bookbinders, the paper-makers, and the letter-founders. All wore on their hats the motto "By Union, we prosper"; and this motto, declares a contemporary account of the parade, had reference to the associations of paper-makers, letter-founders, printers, and bookbinders. It is possible, therefore, that, not only the printers, but also the paper-makers, the letter-founders, and the bookbinders were organized at this time.[2] It has been stated that the Boston Typographical Society was organized in 1803.[3]

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1 Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61,- November 1905, p. 860-884.

2 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XXX, Nos. 3148 and 3163. June 19 and July 6, 1809. Also Vol. XX, No. 3205. August 25, 1809.

3 Thomas's History of Printing.

A letter written in 1809 by an association, bearing the name Boston Typographical Society, is to be found in the archives of the Philadelphia union of printers. The communication tells of the new scale of prices that had just been submitted to the organization of employers. It has been shown, however, that at the time the letter was written, the Boston association had been but recently formed. The society was apparently short lived; for, in 1815, we find the printers of Boston newly organizing themselves into another association, which bore the same name as its predecessor.[1]

The journeymen tailors compose another class, which, in the large cities, early organized themselves into trade associations. The Baltimore Society of Journeymen Tailors was especially active during this period. In 1795, they engaged in a strike, and forced up wages to seven shillings and nine pence per job. They struck again in 1805, this time securing a wage of eight shillings, nine pence. A system of "extras" was also introduced by which the old one been four jobs was made to count as eight. Several years later, another strike took place. This time, the journeymen demanded ten shillings for each job or nine dollars a week. The common laborers, they declared, was paid as high wages as this; and yet, while the tailor served an apprentice-

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1 Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61- November, 1905, p. 869. Washington, 1905.

ship of seven years, the common laborer did not require an hour to learn how to do his task. The masters replied that none of them received more than seven dollars for a suit of clothes. It was impossible, therefore, to yield to the demands of the journeymen, unless gentlemen were willing to pay more for their clothes.[1] The end was a compromise. Organizations of tailors are also said to have formed in Philadelphia and New York prior to 1800. In Boston, a tailors' union was created in 1806, and has maintained a continuous existence to the present day.[2]

A society of coachmakers was established in Baltimore some time prior to the war of 1812. The organization included in its membership such branches of the trade as the coach-trimmers, harness-makers, saddlers, lace, weavers, and platers. But no trace of similar organizations has yet been found in the other large Atlantic seaports.[3]

The American labor movement during this period was, perhaps, to some extent held in check by the fact that the members of the trade societies were liable to be fined and imprisoned for their activity in industrial matters. No

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1 McMaster: The History of the People of the United States, Vol. III, p. 512.

2 The American Federationist, Vol. IX, No. 9, p. 599, Washington, September, 1902.

3 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 3158, June 30, 1809.

statues were ever passed, in the United States as in England, prohibiting workmen from combining for the purpose of raising wages. Nevertheless, the courts of this country have applied to labor disputes the old English common law principle of criminal conspiracy. A combination of two or more persons becomes a criminal conspiracy when it is created for an illegal purpose, or when the parties to it seek to attain a lawful purpose by unlawful means. The courts of the United States have never generally held that combinations of workmen to raise wages were, under the common law per se illegal. Yet they have held that certain acts committed by members of trade societies in their efforts to raise wages were illegal. During the early history of the American labor movement, the courts were strict in their interpretation concerning what acts of trade unions constituted criminal conspiracy. Later, they became more liberal.

The boot and shoe workers of Philadelphia were the first journeymen in America to be brought before the courts on the charge of criminal conspiracy. In 1806, eight members of the Journeymen Cordwainers' Society of Philadelphia were tried in the Mayor's Court of that city on indictment for a combination and conspiracy to raise their wages. In charging the jury, the judge seemed to imply that combinations to raise wages are opposed to public policy, and, therefore, are unlawful. He points out that such combinations will enhance the price of boots. "To make artificial regulations",

he also declares, "is not to regard the excellence of the work". The indictments against the cordwainers were, however, not for being parties to an unlawful combination, but for certain unlawful acts committed as members of a combination. The counts of the indictment were, to translate them from their legal phraseology, first that the defendants had engaged in a strike for certain higher wages, secondly that they had tried to compel other journeymen to strike, and thirdly that they had refused to work with journeymen not members of the society. An act committed by a confederation of two or more persons becomes a criminal conspiracy when it is opposed to public policy, or when it does injury to some individual. When the members of a trade do not threaten or coerce an employer with the possibility of a strike but simply refuse to work at the wages paid them, the coercion so far as it exists, is exercised only over the members of the society. But strikes may be held unlawful on the ground that they are opposed to public policy. In the Philadelphia case, strikes were held illegal. A single journeyman, it was said, may refuse to work; but many journeymen may not. The defendants, on the other two counts, were also held guilty for conspiring to injure non-society journeymen.[1]

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[1] The Trial of the Boot and Shoemakers of Philadelphia on an Indictment for a Combination and Conspiracy to Raise Their Wages. Taken in Short-hand by Thomas Lloyd. Philadelphia, 1806.

The master shoemakers in other cities, quickly took their cue from their brother employers in Philadelphia. In 1809, members of the Journeymen Cordwainers' Society of Baltimore were brought to trial for criminal conspiracy. The New York cordwainers were indicted for a similar offense in 1810, and the cordwainers of Pittsburg in 1811. In each case, the defendants were found guilty; but the decisions were not so sweeping as in the Philadelphia case. In Baltimore, the cordwainers were indicted only on one charge, namely, for having conspired to prevent non-society journeymen from obtaining employment.[1] In the New York case, the indictments were, in substance, the same as in the trial of the Philadelphia cordwainers. In addition, however, it was declared in one count that the members of the society had refused to work for any master who had more than two apprentices at the same time. In his charge to the jury, the judge stated that it was not necessary to decide whether the combination was itself unlawful or whether the defendants had the right to agree not to work except for certain wages. Later, indeed, in imposing the sentence, he unequivocally states that they did have equal rights with all other members of the community to meet and regulate their concerns, and

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1 Criminal Docket of the Baltimore County Court. July Term, 1809, and January Term, 1810.

to work for wages and refuse. But, in carrying out these purposes, the defendants had employed certain arbitrary and unlawful means. In particular, they had attempted to coerce journeymen into becoming members of the society. On this count, therefore, he practically charged the jury to bring in the verdict of guilty.[1]

The trial for criminal conspiracy of the journeymen cordwainers in four large cities naturally excited considerable comment at the time. In fact, on account of the hostility evinced by the democratic or republican party, during this period, towards the English common law, the agitation aroused by the conviction of the cordwainers took on certain political aspects. After the Revolution, the several states ordained in their newly adopted constitutions that the common law of England should in the absence of statutes continue to be the law of the state as it had been the law of the colony. Many opposed, however, the recognition in the United States of precidents established by the English courts. The war of the Revolution, they declared, had been fought to obtain political emancipation from England. Yet what had it availed if the rights, the sovereignty of the people were still limited by precidents, customs, and usages

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1 Trial of the Journeymen Cordwainers of the City of New York for a Conspiracy to Raise Their Wages. Reported by William Sampson. New York, 1810.

of the British Courts. As the war with England drew near, the increasing hostility to that country reflected itself in an increasing opposition to the English common law. Some felt that this "hydra of legal despotism" could be pruned from the body politic only by the amputation of special legislation. About this time, therefore, we find the Kentucky Assembly attempting to pass a law that no decisions of a British tribunal and no treatise on law by a British writer should be cited as an authority in the state courts. Henry Clay and men of like sane council succeeded, however, in persuading the Assembly to limit the proscription, as had been done in New Jersey, to opinions delivered and legal books written since the Declaration of Independence. Pennsylvania adopted a similar law in 1810.

At the time of the trial of the Philadelphia cordwainers, Duane, editor of the Aurora, was involved in a bitter attack on the English common law. He at once took up the cause of the shoemakers. Of all the barbarous principles entailed upon us by England, none was left, he said, but slavery, and that would be restricted in 1808. Yet at the very time when the state of the negro was being improved, attempts were being made by the application of the English common law to reduce the whites to wage slavery.[1]

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1 A History of the People of the United States, by J. B. McMaster, p. 523. New York, 1892.

The trial in Baltimore was also used by the local Democratic papers as political capital. In the large cities, the mechanics were at that time members of the democratic party. The lawyers and other of the professional classes were federalists. The democratic papers of Baltimore, therefore, used the conviction of the journeymen cordwainers to point the moral in their attacks on the tory lawyers, who, imbued with English monarchical doctrines, were attempting to deprive the people of their liberties.

It is doubtful, however, whether these convictions of workmen for criminal conspiracy greatly retarded the rise of the labor movement in America. In Philadelphia, the shoemakers after their conviction, opened a boot and shoe warehouse of their own, and appealed to the public to save them and their families from abject poverty. Some of the contemporary newspapers also expressed the fear that such verdicts would prove a death blow to every organized society. But the attitude of the courts was in principle, at any rate, not so essentially different from that it is to-day. Moreover, the penalty imposed in the Philadelphia and New York cases was merely a nominal fine. The novelty of the case of the New York cordwainers, "and the general conduct of their body, composed of members useful in the community, inclined the Court to believe that they had rights upon which to found their proceedings". A nominal sum of one dollar each with

costs was, therefore, imposed. In Baltimore, one of the cordwainers indicted was found guilty on the matter of fact. The judge to whom was left the question of law, apparently took the case under advisement, as was frequently done in common law cases, when the offense was not considered serious; but, so far as the records show, he never imposed a sentence.[1] The counsel for the prosecution stated the other indictments, that is withdrew the charge, with the right to renew it, should the parties repeat the offense, or should other circumstances at any time justify. The popular hostility to the English common law, and the indignation aroused by the conviction of the cordwainers must also have counteracted, to some extent, the restrictive influence of such court decisions on the labor movement. The attitude of the workers in some cases was, perhaps, that of the Baltimore tailors who, when engaged in a strike about the time that the Baltimore cordwainers were tried for conspiracy, issued the ultimatum that they would tar and feather any lawyer who dared to prosecute them.

On the other hand, it is possible that the uncertain standing of industrially protective trade associations before

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1 Criminal Docket No. 412 of the Baltimore County Court, July Term, 1809.

the law may have caused some societies to lay such particular emphasis on their beneficial features. It may have been for this reason also that the Philadelphia society of printers formulated its trade policies in executive session, and sought to conceal its real industrial aims under the cover of its benevolent activities.

During the decade from 1815 to 1825, there was a decided slump in the American labor movement. The cause is, perhaps, traceable to the industrial prostration following the declaration of peace with England. During the embargo placed by Jefferson on American shipping, and during the war from 1812 to 1815, the industries of the United States were afforded absolute protection from outside competition; and, under the stimulus of this protection, manufactures of all kinds rapidly developed. With the conclusion of peace, however, the British manufacturers to whose goods, the war raging on the European continent had closed most available markets, began to dump the contents of their warehouses on the United States. Almost immediately a protective tariff on the importation of foreign commodities was thrown up. But, by means of false invoices and other ingenious devices, the British manufacturer found ways of "getting under the tariff." Moreover, the first result of the conclusion of peace in Europe was that thousands of soldiers were thrown on the English labor market. Wages fell; and English merchants were able to sell cheaper than before. In consequence, the newly

developing American industries were, from 1815 to 1820, prostrated, and almost completely destroyed; and many mechanics were thrown out of employment.

The records of those societies which have been preserved show that the attitude of the associations which had been very active in trade matters during the early period, in this decade became much less aggressive. In 1818, the New York Typographical Society was incorporated by an act of the legislature, and, by the terms of its charter, was forbidden to regulate scales of wages, or otherwise interfere with trade matters.[1] The energies of the Philadelphia Society were also from this time chiefly directed to the maintenance of its system of relief, though it did not become a purely benevolent association until 1831.

After 1820, a few societies were formed; but those of which we have knowledge were chiefly benevolent associations. The Columbian Charitable Society of Shipwrights and Caulkers of Boston and Charlestown, which was organized in 1822, was also incorporated the following year. By the terms of its charter, the association was given the power "to have and use a common seal, and to make by-laws for the governing of the affairs of said convention, and the management and

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1 Historical Sketch in Constitution of the New York Typographical Association of June, 1831, as amended 1833.

application of its funds; and also for promoting inventions and improvements in their art, by granting premiums, to assist mechanics with loans of money, and to relieve the distresses of unfortunate mechanics and their families". It was hence, so far as its charter and title show, purely beneficial in character. The Friendly Association of the Journeymen Book Binders of the City and County of New York, founded in 1822, appropriated its funds chiefly for the aid of sick and disabled members, though a list of prices drawn up by the society at this time is still in existence.[1] The Franklin Typographical Society of Boston instituted in 1824, was also a purely benevolent society. Attempts were, on frequent occasions, made to draw the society into an expression of opinion on matters of trade policy. But resolutions relating to industrial concerns of the craft have always been consistently tabled.[2] Later, another association of printers was formed for purely trade purposes. The Franklin Typographical Society of Boston itself has remained until the present day a purely beneficial organization.

After 1820, a change rapidly took place in the in-

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1 List of Prices of Friendly Association of Journeymen Book Binders (of the City and County of New York).

2 Constitution and By-laws of the Franklin Typographical Society. Instituted in Boston, February, 1824. Boston, 1824. Also Minutes of the Franklin Typographical Society since 1824.

dustrial character of the country; and during the period from 1825 to the panic of 1837, trade unionism in America awoke to a new life. This was the era of road and canal building. The Erie Canal was opened to travel in 1825, and a mania for such internal improvements swept over all the states. In 1826, ground was broken for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad; and other charters for similar undertakings were granted by other states. The industrial expansion kept pace with the development of the means of communication. From Maine to Maryland and from Maryland to Missouri, new industries of a hundred sorts quickly sprang up. Moreover, as, with the increase in the facilities of communication, the market for goods widened, production took place on a larger scale. The factory steadily replaced the small shop. The artisan disappeared, and an ever increasing body of permanent wage-earners arose.

At the same time, the workmen were not sharing proportionately in the industrial prosperity. The flood of money poured out on the country by the state banks was inflating the currency. The price of commodities rose; and, while the cost of living thus increased, wages did not rise in proportion. The position of the worker became, therefore, worse than before.

The length of the working day was, moreover, still irksomely long. The early trade associations, with the exception of the Union Society of Carpenters at Philadelphia

in 1791,[1] had, so far as we know, made no attempt to regulate the length of the working day. Mechanics still continued, in 1825, to labor from sunrise to sunset. But now the demand arose that the length of the working day be ten hours, from six to six, with one hour for breakfast and another for dinner. In 1822, the journeymen millwrights and machine workers of Philadelphia met at a tavern, and passed resolutions that ten hours of labor were enough for one day. But they apparently took no further action.[2] The housewrights of Boston held in 1824 several preliminary meetings. Finally, at a meeting convoked the following year, they formed a permanent organization, and embarked upon a strike for the ten hour day.[3] In 1835, a great mass meeting of workmen was held in the State House yard in Philadelphia. A resolution was adopted endorsing the ten hour day; and strikes were embarked upon by many trades to secure it.[4] In 1835, simultaneous with the movement in Philadelphia, strikes for a similar purpose were being waged in New York and Boston by the

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1 See page 33

2 A History of the People of the United States, by J. B. Mc Master, Vol. V, p. 84. New York, 190[illegible].

3 The Carpenter, Vol. 8, No. 8. Philadelphia, September, 1888.

4 Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia on the Reduction of the Hours of Labor and Increase of Wages. Philadelphia, 1835.

journeymen of many crafts. In fact, the history of trade unionism during this period centers chiefly about the ten hour movement.

The labor organizations were, at this time, made stronger and more effective by federating the societies of the various trades in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities into so-called "Trades' Unions". The first of these was probably the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, organized in 1827. The federation started, however, to dabble in politics, and, within a year or two, went to pieces.[1] The next attempt was made in New York City when the societies of the different trades federated together for the purpose of establishing a general fund from which to support the members of the various crafts when engaged in strikes. In May, 1833, the Journeymen House Carpenters of New York struck for higher wages. The journeymen of other trades in the city, believing that the demands of the carpenters were just, proceeded to collect a fund to support them in their struggle. "The vast utility of an organized union of all trades" to maintain such a fund, was now, says a contemporary account of the movement, "as apparent as the sun in his meridian splendor"; but, as no person promulgated any

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1 Labor Organization and Labor Politics 1827-37 by John R. Commons. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXI, p. 323, February, 1907.

plan for its accomplishment, it seemed again destined to sink into oblivion, when John Finch, of the Typographical Association of New York, on the twenty-second of June, 1833, laid before the body over which he presided, a circular (to other unions), and requested that a committee should be appointed to assist in forming a "General Union of Trades". Finally, on the evening of July 15, 1833, the General Trades' Union of the city of New York and Vicinity was organized, and a constitution adopted, the provisions of which show that the primary purpose of the association was to render financial assistance in the case of strikes.[1] The rise of the General Trades' Union of New York was followed by the reorganization of the federation of trades in Philadelphia; and similar unions of trades soon arose in Boston[2] and other cities. Finally, about 1834, all trades' federations of the country were, it would seem, united into a National Trades' Union.[3]

By the federation of societies, each trade association not only received financial help from the other, but

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York and its Vicinity with an Address to the Mechanics in the City of New York and throughout the United States. New York, 1833.

2 George E. McNeill: The Labor Movement, p. 82. Boston, 1887.

3 Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XXI, p. 324. February, 1907.

drew courage and the spirit of aggressiveness as well. At the same time, the attitude of the courts in its interpretation of criminal conspiracy as applied to labor disputes was now becomin more liberal. The industrial policy of trade societies, therefore, grew bolder; and their benevolent activities were put more into the background. Those trades which had been most active during the earlier period in their struggle for better wages, were now stimulated to renewed activity. The New York Typographical Association was prevented from interfering in trade matters by the limitations of its charter of incorporation. In 1831, therefore, the Typographical Association of New York was organized for industrially protective purposes.[1] The Baltimore Typographical Society was reorganized for a second time in 1831. Concerning the various societies of cordwainers between 1810 and 1830 nothing definitely can be said. In 1835, however, there was in Philadelphia an association known as the United Beneficial Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; and a body bearing an almost identical name existed in New York, certainly in 1830. But, in spite of the title "Beneficial Society", these associations were in reality

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[1] Historical Sketch in the New York Typographical Association of June, 1831, as amended 1833.

protective or belligerent trade unions, designed for collective bargaining. The Philadelphia organization, for example, in 1835, pursued a policy identical with the modern system of boycott. They placarded the names of those employers who refused to accede to their demands, and called upon the journeymen of other trades not to buy the shoes of such unfair manufacturers.[1] In 1832, the society of Journeymen Ship Carpenters and Caulkers of Boston waged a long and bitter struggle against the masters to enforce the establishment of a ten hour day.[2] The shipbuilding trades of New York and other cities were equally active at this time.

Under the immediate stimulus of the public agitation in favor of a ten hour working day, and the aggressive fight to secure it put up against employers by the members of the federation of trades sociaties, the spirit of unionism rapidly spread to trades which had not as yet attempted to become organized. By 1830, eighteen local sociaties had been formed in New York City.[3] Among the organizations federated under the banner of General Trades' Unions of the City of New York and its Vicinity, there were in addition to the societies to which reference has already been made, organizations

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1 Address issued to the Citizens and Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1835.

2 Address to the Workingmen of New England by Seth Luther. Appendix, pp. 33-34. Boston, 1832.

3 New York Evening Post. May 25, 1830.

of coopers, carvers and gilders, leather dressers, cabinet makers, tin plate and sheet iron workers, and others.[1] In Philadelphia, the formation of unions was attempted by the cigar makers and other trades.[2]

During this period also, the labor movement which had previously been confined to the large cities of the Atlantice Coast began slowly to spread southward and westward. The Cincinnati printers organized a society in 1832, and local unions of the same trade appeared at Richmond, Va., Charleston, S. C., and Louisville, Ky. in 1834. The house carpenters of Pittsburg formed a union in 1836.[3] In Cincinnati, the trade societies were, at the time, numerous enough to be federated into a "trades union".

With the panic of 1837, the labor movement collapsed. Most of the newly created societies immediately went to pieces. But a few organizations such as the New York Typographical Society, and the Baltimore Typographical Society survived the era of storm and stress, and have maintained a

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York and its Vicinity with an address to the Mechanics in the City of New York, and throughout the United States, p. 1. New York, 1833.

2 Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia on the Reduction of the Hours of Labor and Increase of Wages. Philadelphia, 1835.

3 The Carpenter, Vol. Vll, No. 8.

a continuous existence until the present day. The victories, won from 1830 to 1836, were, moreover, not forgotten by the American laborer, and, with the return of better times, the old societies were organized again.

CHAPTER 111.

SUBDIVISION OF THE LOCAL UNION

During the early days of trade unionism in this country, the journeymen of each craft constituted a fairly homogeneous body. Each shoemaker, tailor, and printer performed all parts of the work required. In fact, few sub-divided crafts existed. Differences of nationality and sex were comparatively unimportant; and the negro competitor had not yet arisen. The early local union, therefore, admitted without distinction all workers within its jurisdiction employed in a certain industry.

With the division of labor and the rise of the factory, however, many crafts became sub-divided into various branches. These branches gradually assumed the characteristics of distinct crafts; and it became necessary in many cases to split up the original local into several governmental bodies, one for each division of the trade. The increase in the number of females employed in many industries led to a demand for women's unions. Sub-division of the members of a trade according to sex has, indeed, as a rule been found impracticable. But, since women usually perform a different kind of work, they are often organized separately from men by the principle of sub-division into locals according to branch of the trade. After the civil war, prejudice felt towards the newly emancipated negroes, caused the members of those trades in which they became competitors to organize them in many cases into separate locals. Good government has also demanded that, whenever possible, different nationalities transact business in separate parliamentary bodies;

and, for the same reason, when the membership of a local increases so greatly that the mass meeting becomes unwiedly, another sub-division of the organization often takes place.

The most important cause of schism in the local union has been the splitting up of the craft into numerous sub-crafts or branches. In place of the shoe maker, who received the leather from the middle man, and made the whole shoe in his own little shop, there has appeared the cutter, the fitter, the treer, the stitcher, the laster, the heeler, the sole tacker, the edge maker, and the shoe fastener, all working together in large establishments to produce the finished article. The tailor who cut the garment, and sewed it with his needle, has been replaced in the ready made clothing industry, and, to a certain extent, even in the custom trade, by the measurer, the cutter, the trimmer, the stitcher, the baster, the examiner, the sponger, the presser on coats, the presser on pants, the roller, the folder, and a few others.

At first, the divisions of a trade have been by no means rigidly fixed. Though the work of manufacturing a cigar is today often divided between a leaf selector, stripper, filler, breaker, and a roller, yet the cigar makers insist, whenever possible that the apprentice be made an "all around workman", capable of making the whole cigar. But, gradually, the several branches assume all the characteristics of distinct trades. The baster comes to know only his special part and cannot perform the work of the cutter. He is paid a different wage and is absorbed completely in his peculiar class interests.

Attempts to organize these several sub-divisions of the original craft together in the same governmental body have usually failed. In the first place, each group of workmen in an industry always somewhat resents the right of the other groups to vote upon the many matters which they consider their particular class concerns.

If, in addition, one group of workers is in the majority and is able to dominate the rest, friction is almost inevitable. Moreover, if as is usually the case, one or more branches of the trade are more skilled than the rest, they generally wish to organize separately, in order not to bear the onus of raising and sustaining the economic position of the unskilled workers. At the same time, the close co-operation required to maintain a uniform scale for journeymen performing the same work, is unnecessary between the several groups of employees in an industry, each of which is paid

a different scale.

The division of work between certain coöperating groups of laborers took place in some industries long before the rise of trade unionism; and, in such cases, each of several sub-trades, when it has become unionized, has formed independent local associations. Since the days when Solomon used in the building of his temple the "stonequarers", the "hewers of stone", the "masons", the "hewers and workers of timber", and the men "skillful to work in gold and silver, in brass, in iron", or "to grave any manner of graving", the various class of house-builders have constituted more or less distinct crafts. From the beginning, therefore, of American trade unionism, the stone cutters, the bricklayers, and the carpenters in any community were organized into separate local unions. In the early part of the nineteenth century, there were employed upon the building of a ship a number of different crafts, such as the sail-maker, the rigger, the ship-carpenter, the ship-joiner, and the caulker.[1] We find, indeed, that the ship-carpenters and caulkers of Boston were, about 1832, united in one trade society.[2] Each of the ship-building trades, however, as a rule, organized themselves into separate unions.

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1 The Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser. Vol. XIX, No. 3158, June 30, 1809.

2 Address to the workingmen of New England on the state of education and on the condition of the producing classes in Europe and America. Delivered in Boston by Seth Luther. Appendix, p. 33-34. (Boston, 1832).

If a local union exists before the craft splits up into various branches, this parent local also breaks up into several corresponding governmental bodies. Within the building trades further clevage was in process even during the period prior to the war of 1812. During this germinal period of American trade unionism, the same individual was sometimes a stone mason, a bricklayer, and a plasterer. Frequently, however, a journeyman devoted himself exclusively to one class of work. In Baltimore, the bricklayers were organized into one society, and the plasterers, into another. In New York, the bricklayers, stone masons, and plasterers were, at this time, united into one association, known as the New York Masons' Society. It is possible, however, that this society existed purely for benevolent purposes, and hence that the division of the several branches of the craft into separate organizations was unnecessary.[1] Today, while, in the large cities the bricklayers, stone masons, and plasterers constitute practically distinct crafts, in the smaller towns, where the amount of work will not permit of such specialization, the same man frequently does the work of all three. While, therefore, in the large cities, each of these branches of the trade is formed into a separate union, in the small towns, the three groups of mechanics are, on account of this overlapping of trades as well as on account of their paucity of numbers, united into one mixed union.

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1 See page 1.

The hatters of New York were, in 1809, organized in one association, known as the Hatters' Society. In 1833, we find that the several branches of hatters in that city were beginning to become distributed among several local unions. There was for example, one society of hat finishers and another of silk hatters belonging to the General Trades' Union of the City of New York, which was formed at this time.[1] Similarly, very early in the century, at least four groups of workers, the printers, the bookbinders, the typefounders, and the paper-makers coöperated in the publishing of a book or newspaper; and each group maintained separate local associations. Later, by division of labor and the introduction of new processes, there emerged from the originally homogeneous trade of printers, such distinct crafts as the compositors, the pressmen, the stereotypers and electrotypers, and the photo-engravers. In spite, therefore, of some opposition on the part of the compositors, the original local union of printers has split up into several governmental bodies. In many other industries, as the division of labor has progressed, six or a dozen societies have, in the larger cities, sometimes replaced the one original local union of the trade.

The schism extends frequently to the national union, as has been exemplified, within the last few years, by

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York and its Vicinity, with an Address to the Mechanics of the City of New York, and throughout the United States. (New York, 1883).

the secession of the steam fitters to form a national organization distinct from that of the plumbers, and the even more recent secession of the electrotypers and photo-engravers from the International Typographical Union.

Nevertheless, the several trades or sub-trades in an industry have many common interests, leading them to federation. They gain much by coöperating to bargain with the same employer. It is also sometimes difficult to determine the exact jurisdiction of the several national unions in an industry; and disputes as to membership and the right to certain work frequently arise. Disputes as to membership are, indeed, sometimes caused by federation of trades. But disputes as to work, which the American Federation of Labor has usually shown itself powerless to settle, may, if there is a possible basis of compromise, be satisfactorily decided by tribunals vested with power from the central government of the amalgamated contesting trades. Moreover, as the division of labor is made more minute, and as machinery is introduced, work becomes much more unskilled, and a final stage is reached, when differences between the sub-trades begin to be obliterated.

It becomes easier to pass from one to the other; and amalgamation of workers in all branches of the industry is rendered necessary. In the large meat packing houses of Chicago, apprenticeship is unknown. The unskilled worker who enters as penner or tucker may ascend in the scale of promotion to tail ripper or gullet raiser, and may eventually become

an expert floorsman.[1] Similarly, among the mine workers, there is a constant movement upward from the least skilled to the most skilled work. The breaker boy, the door boy, or the fan boy may later become a driver or a runner, or may by successive steps be promoted from mine laborer to miner, and, if he shows ability, from miner to fire boss and foreman. By a reverse process, the skilled miner, incapacitated by accident or old age, returns to slate picking, and so becomes a breaker boy again. Parallel, therefore, with the movement towards secession is a movement toward national trade amalgamation, amalgamation between what have always been distinct trades, such as the fireman, the teamster and the malster in the brewery, amalgamation between branches of what was once a single trade, as exemplified by the Boot and Shoe Workers International Union, amalgamation between so called skilled and unskilled as in the case of the blacksmiths and their helpers.

But such national organizations must recognize in the form of their government the fact that they are trade federations; and one essential requirement is that, when an industry is unionized in any city, the several crafts or branches of the craft be, if it is practicable, chartered as separate locals. Some associations have, indeed, pursued this policy

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[1] The unit of government in the Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union, by T. W. Glocker in the Johns Hopkins University Circular. New Series, 1905, No. 6. (June, 1905).

from the beginning. Thus, the very first constitution of the National Union of Iron Molders, formed in 1859, provided that one local of machine moulders and another of hollow-ware moulders could be formed in each city. Other unions have subsequently been forced to split up the local as sub-divisions have appeared in the craft. When the National Typographical Union was created in 1852, the work of the printer had not yet been sub-divided except in the large cities where the pressmen had appeared as a craft practically distinct from the compositors. For many years, the Typographical Union permitted only one local union to be chartered in each city. But, finally, after repeated protests on the part of the pressmen, the constitution of the Union was so amended as to allow the pressmen to form separate locals.[2] When national associations of several trades or branches of a trade, amalgamate, the new federation must of course recognize in its unit of government the several district sub-divisions of its membership. The national convention of the Sons of Vulcan, which, in 1879, decided to federate with the Associated Brotherhood of Iron and Steel Heaters, Rollers, and Roughers of the United States, and the National Union of Iron and Steel Roll Hands,

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[1] By-laws of the National Union of Iron Moulders, adopted 1859. Article 3, sec. 2. (In Proceedings of the First National Convention, Philadelphia, July 5-8, 1859. Philadelphia, 1859).

[2] The Government of the Typographical Union, by George E. Barnett. In Studies in American Trade Unionism, p. 24-25.

also adopted, at the same time, a resolution that the local lodge of the three original national associations be allowed to retain their independent existence as lodges of the new federation.[1]

The wage earners in certain closely related industries, such as men who are employed in the manufacture of a commodity, and those who make its by-products, or the workmen who produce commodities by similar processes, as, for example, the iron moulder and the brass moulder, are often united in one national union. Such national associations sometimes organize their members into local bodies according to the branch of the industry in which they are employed, and sometimes, in addition, according to the particular part which they perform in such branch of the industry. In the large packing houses of Chicago, there are many departments from hog, sheep, and cattle butchering to the making of lard and oleomargarine. The work in each department is much further sub-divided. Thus in the department of cattle butchering alone, there are over thirty specialties from the unskilled foot stripper to paunch trimmer to the skilled splitter and floorsman. But, as has been already said, the unskilled workman who enters any department passes by slow promotion from the highest to the lowest grade of work.[2] The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have, therefore, found it both possible and

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1 The National Labor Tribune. Vol. IV, No. 32, p. 1. Pittsburg, Aug. 5, 1876.

2 See page 46

most desirable to organize together in the same local union, the men in each department, both skilled and unskilled. In the city of Chicago, for example, there are locals of cattle butchers, hog butchers, hide cellar men, oleomargarine workers, sausage makers, lard refinery employees, and so on.[1]

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union divides its members into locals primarily according to the particular garment upon which they are employed. Subordinate unions of ladies' waistmakers, skirt makers, and cloak operators have, for example, beenformed in New York City. But the cutters, who form, probably, one of the most skilled groups among the garment workers, desire, whenever possible, to be organized separately from the other divisions of the trade.

Moreover, cutters on all kinds of ladies' garments are united by certain craft interests, and so are usually gathered together into one local union. In New York, however , some attempt has been made to resubdivide them according to the garment upon which they are employed. The Gotham Association, for example, is composed of all cutters upon

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1 For an account of the method of organization and history of the growth of locals among the workers in the different departments of the Chicago packing houses, see Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Vol. 11, No. 42, p. 1-12. Syracuse, March 1903. See also "Labor Conditions in Slaughtering and Meat Packing" by Professor John R. Commons. Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. XIX, 1904, pp. 1-32.

washable goods. The United Cloak and Suit Cutters' Association claims jurisdiction over cutters in all shops devoted exclusively to the manufacture of ladies' outer garments. The cloak pressers are also in some places formed into a separate union. The United Garment Workers, composed of workers on men's ready made clothing, carries out much more completely this double sub-division into locals according to kind of garment, and according to the particular part performed in making each garment.

It is difficult, however, to maintain the line of demarkation between the several groups of garment workers; and disputes as to jurisdiction sometimes occur between different local unions. Ladies' cloak and suit factories, for example, make washable garments, either regularly, or at times when the demand for their special line of goods falls off; and this has caused some friction between the association of ladies' cloak and suit cutters and the association of cutters on ladies' washable goods in New York City.[1] Friction also occasionally exists between a mixed local union and one claiming jurisdiction over only a single sub-division of the trade. Thus, to illustrate by another dispute among the ladies' garment workers of New York, the Manhattan Knife Cutters Association, composed only of cloak-cutters has come into conflict with the above mentioned United Cloak and Suit Cutters' Association

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1 Quarterly Report of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. December 1, 1902 to March 1, 1903, p. 4. (New York, n.d.)

which claims jurisdiction over all cutters on ladies' outer garments.[1]

There are, of course, some national associations which do not organize their members into mass meetings according to the character of their employment.

The window glass workers, who form all the employees in each plant into a separate local do not further sub-divide them according to the four branches of the craft. Similarly, the United Mine Workers gather together in the same governmental body all employees about a colliery, irrespective of the kind of work at which they are employed.

Unions of unskilled laborers, also, need not subdivide their members according to the character of their employment. The Laborers' Protective Society of New York City is, for example, composed of all classes of bricklayers' and masons' helpers, the hod-carrier, the mortar-mixer, and others. The National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America is also an organization of men who, with the exception of the keeper of the furnace, are comparatively unskilled. No distinction is, therefore, made in their unit of government for the character of the work.

After the admission of the cigar packers to the Cigar Makers' International Union in 1885, a law was urged for

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1 Report of Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Boston, Mass., June 6-9, 1904, p. 10. (New York, n.d.)

several conventions to the effect that packers must always be organized with separate locals, and that if there were not in any place a sufficient number of packers to secure a charter, they should be obliged to deposit their cards with the nearest packers' union.[1] But the cigar makers have never consented to adopt such a measure. The pressmen did, indeed, succeed in obtaining the passage of a similar law by the International Typographical Union. Few, if any other, national unions have, however, pursued at any time such a policy.

The general rule of most national associations appears to be to form, in large cities, a separate union for all or the most important branches of the trade, but, in small places, to unite all members in one mass meeting. In fact, a secondary advantage, frequently urged, in favor of national amalgamation of trades or sub-trades, is the possibility of maintaining unions in small centers of the industry by organizing mixed locals of the federated crafts. Thus, one reason advanced for the proposed admission of boiler makers to the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union in 1872 was that "there are not enough boiler makers in any city or town in the South to form a union of their own."[2]

The method of organizing union workmen into locals

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1 Proceedings of the seventeenth session of the Cigar Makers' International Union. Binghamton, N. Y., September 19-28, 1887. Buffalo, 1887.

2 Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. IX, No. 5, p. 564. Cleveland, March 1872.

differs, therefore, not only as between national associations, but also between members of the same organization in different cities. Some national associations, as the Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers, and the Caulkers, Ship Carpenters and Joiners, have granted separate charters to the several groups within the craft only in the largest centers of the industry. The boot and shoe makers organize in the large shoe centers local unions of many branches of the trade. In other places, it is practicable to grant separate charters to the lasters and the cutters who probably form the most skilled classes of workers. All other subdivisions of the craft are formed into a mixed union. In some of the smaller centers, all boot and shoe makers are gathered together in one local union.

National associations which early granted separate charters to each branch of the trade, have frequently refused to further sub-divide the local. The Iron Molders' International Union, for example, at first, allowed only one union of each branch of the trade to be formed in any place.[1] It was urged in favor of such a policy that the existence of two

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[1] By-Laws of the National Union of Iron Molders, adopted 1859, Article 3, sec. 2. (In Proceedings of the First National Convention, Philadelphia, July 5-8, 1859. Philadelphia, 1859).

or more unions of the trade or same branch of the trade in any locality meant two or more conflicting wage scales and apprentice rules, that one large union was more economical than several small ones; that, finally, if at any time, suspended members or a dissatisfied minority could secede and obtain a separate charter the authority of the local union would be undermined. Sometimes also, the members suspended by one local union are able to gain admittance to another local, holding a charter in the same city. For example, about 1884, there existed in New York City, a German branch of the Bricklayers' International Union, which, for the sake of the additional revenue to the treasury, admitted bricklayers suspended by the other locals in that city.[1] Attempts to issue a second charter to members of a trade or sub-trade in any place, are, therefore, usually opposed by the local union already existing; and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union,[2] the United Brewery Workmen,[3] and a few other national associations recognize in the composition of their basic mass meetings only differences in the character of employment. Many national or international associations have also found it necessary to make further subdivision of the local union according to differences of sex,

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1 Report of President. (In Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers'and Masons' International Union, St. Louis, Mo., January 11, 1886, p. 13-32. Albany, 1886.)

2 Convention of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. Revised, 1903. Sec. 41. Boston, 1906.

3 Constitution of the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America, Article IX, sec. 1. (Cincinnati, n.d.).

color, nationality, and sometimes merely for governmental convenience.

It is highly desirable that whenever possible women be organized into separate local unions. Experience has shown that women hesitate to join a union composed largely of men. Moreover, it is claimed that in mixed locals, men do not accord them full opportunity to discuss their particular class concerns, and show prejudice when allowed to vote on questions of interest to their sister members. Certainly, women's unions enroll a much larger proportion of the female section of the trade, and arouse greater and more sustained enthusiasm.

Local unions composed wholly of women undoubtedly existed at a very early date. The United Beneficial Society of Cordwainers of New York City organized about 1883, a ladies' Branch, which had, however, a flickering existence, and came together only as occasion demanded.[1] The cordwainers of Philadelphia also formed a ladies' branch about this time.[2] The female shoe stitchers of Lynn formed, in 1846, a Stitchers' League, which was wrecked by a few malcontents after short-lived existence. In 1855, the stitchers of Lynn secretly reorganized for several years; and it was these same stitchers of Lynn, who, in 1883, were the first of the boot and shoe workers to apply for a charter from the Knights of Labor.

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1 Rise and Progress of the General Trades' Union of the City of New York, and its vicinity, with an Address to the Mechanics in the City of New York and throughout the United States. New York, 1833, p. 1.

2 Address Issued to the Citizens and Government of Philadelphia. Philadelphia, 1835.

They were organized as Daughters of Labor Assembly No. 3015, and, in accordance with the policy of the Knights of Labor, admitted not stitchers, but also women working at other trades.[1] The female laundry workers employed in the collar factories of Troy organized about 1864, a Collar Laundry Union, which at one time attained a membership of about four hundred. Within the next few years, the Female Cap Makers' Union, the Women's Typographical Union, and the Female Parasol and Umbrella Makers' Union was organized in New York City.[2] In 1874, the tailoresses of New York created a union independent of the journeymen tailors, but succeeded in organizing only about fifteen hundred out of possibly twenty-four thousand, employed in the custom trade and ready made clothing industry of New York.[3] In 1870, the National Lodge of the Daughters of St Crispian was formed, and subordinate lodges of stitchers were organized in various places. In the same year, a convention of the several women's unions of New York State was held at the Cooper Institute in New York City; and an attempt was made to form a State Workingwomen's Association; but the organization died with the adjournment of the

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1 The Laster, Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 1, Lynn, February 15, 1869.

2 Annual Address of the President to the Officers and Delegates. (In Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session of the Workingmen's Assembly. State of New York. Albany, N. Y., January 25-28, 1870)

3 National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 28, p. 1, Pittsburg, July 18, 1874.

convention.[1] The depression which began in 1873, wrought, however, the destruction of all women's societies in common with the general destruction of all trade unions throughout the country. Of late years, the movement to organize women as compared with the growth of trade unions among men proceeds but slowly, though with more success in the west than in the east. In Chicago, the movement has, indeed, attained considerable proportions. An overwhelming majority of workers in twenty-six different trades with a total aggregate membership of possibly thirty-five thousand have been organized. The list of unions includes the Lady Cracker Packers, Waitresses, the Laundresses' Union, the Paper Box Makers', and Scrub-women's Union, and embraces with two important exceptions,- namely the servant girls and the stenographers,- every line of feminine industry in Chicago.

When, as in the case of the boot and shoe stitchers, the overall workers and the hat trimmers, all the workers in one branch of a trade are women, the problem of organizing them simply resolves itself into a division according to the character of their employment. The female branch of the trade is, as a rule, organized in large cities into a separate local. In small places, a mixed union of both sexes is formed. Sometimes, however, when the interests

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[1] Annual Address of the President (In Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the New York State Workingmen's Assembly. Albany, N. Y., January 24-27, 1871).

of the male and female portion of the trade are closely interwoven, it is convenient to organize them together even in large cities. Thus, while the bookbinders have formed a women's union of stitchers, in New York City, yet it has been found necessary to combine the female stampers of New York with the male gold layers.

When women compete with men for the same work, a mixed local is usually formed in order better to enforce the payment to them of the same wages as men. Thus, while the female stitchers and starchers, employed in the shirt, waist, and collar factories of Troy are organized into separate locals from their co-employees, the ironers who are partly men and partly women, are combined into one union. In 1869, the International Typographical Union granted a charter to the female compositors of New York City. But after several years experience, it was found that the women were working for a lower wage scale than the male printers. The charter was, therefore, revoked and the Typographical Union has never since that time attempted to form independent unions of women.[1] One important exception is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Within the last few years, women have partly replaced men at some branches of work in the large meat packing houses. But the butchers have made no attempt to force the women to join the men's union, existing in each

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[1] Studies in American Trade Unionism, edited by Hollander and Barnett, p. 23.

department. On the contrary, the female employees scattered throughout all departments are at Chicago, South Omaha, and other large centers gathered into one large local, known as the "Woman's Union".[1]

The appearance of the negro as an industrial competitor caused another sub-division of the local trade union. After the close of the civil war, the competition of the newly emancipated negro was greatly feared by many American workmen. "The negro", declared the president of the Workmen's Assembly of the State of New York in 1870, "will no longer submit to occupy positions of a degrading nature, but will seek an equality with the whites in the various trades and professions. For a time, we may not have to contend against their labor; and all may be well. Yet I feel impressed with the necessity of preparing for the future by organizing such colored workmen as may now or hereafter exist into unions by themselves, and recognizing their organizations. If we discard this element of labor and refuse to recognize it, capital will recognize

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Unit of Government in the Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union, by T. W. Glocker. In the Johns Hopkins University Circular, New Series 1905, 1906. June, 1905.

it and use it to our great disadvantage!"[1] Indeed, already in 1867, the importation of colored caulkers from Portsmouth, Va. to Boston, Mass. during the struggle in that city for an eight hour day, had been a practical illustration of how the negro might be used as a strike breaker.[2] The white mechanics, however, consistantly refused, at this time, to admit colored men into their own local unions; and there were few localities in which enough negroes were employed at one occupation to make possible the formation of separate colored unions. Partly through the efforts of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York, three organizations of colored men were, about 1870, formed in New York City, namely the Saloon Men's Protective and Benevolent Union, the Colored Waiters' Association, and the First Combined Labor Institute. A Colored National Labor Union was also formed in 1869, and held several annual sessions. The federation aimed to secure higher wages for colored men and to increase the number of occupations in which they could find employment. It also gave attention to the problem of obtaining better school facilities for colored children, and was interested in certain coöperative land and home-building schemes.[3] But the desire

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1 Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Session of the Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York. Held in the City of Albany, N. Y., January 25-28, 1870, p. 5.

2 Address of the National Labor Congress to the Workingmen of the United States, Chicago, 1867.

3 Circular issued by the Colored National Labor Union to the colored workmen of the United States, organized in trades, labor, and industrial unions, calling for election of delegates, and outlining proposed work of the second annual meeting, held in Washington, January 5, 1871.

for political rights and for recognition by the political parties, at this time, completely obsessed the minds of the negroes to the exclusion of industrial matters. Their trade associations seem to have largely degenerated into political clubs; and the trade union movement inaugurated among them during this post-bellum period apparently met with little success.

The international unions of cigar makers, bricklayers, and a few other trades, at first, absolutely excluded negroes from membership. At least four times between 1870 and 1883, the proposition to amend the existing law so as to admit colored men was laid before the international convention of bricklayers; and each time the amendment was turned down. At the convention of 1883, both the president and the secretary of the association urged that the policy of absolute exclusion be abandoned. The secretary said that he had been corresponding with two local unions of negroes in the south, both of which were anxious to ally themselves with the international organization. If these associations were admitted, they could, he thought, be used as a nucleus for organizing other locals of colored men throughout the south. The international officers advised the admission of the negro on purely selfish grounds, however. The negro, they declared, had entered the arena of competition with the skilled worker; and, to exercise some restraint over his competition, it had become necessary to bring him into the union. The secretary

also intimated that, if mixed locals or locals composed exclusively of colored men were admitted, it would be more easily possible, - in a quiet and unostentatious way,- to institute the policy of driving the black bricklayers out of the trade and of substituting for them white skilled labor.[1] Finally, in 1884, the bricklayers decided by a referendum vote that the international executive board could grant charters to local unions composed wholly of colored men.[2]

The plan of forming the International Association of Machinists originated among the machinists of Atlanta, about 1888, and, in consequence of this Southern origin, the membership of the association was, at first, limited to white machinists. The International Union desired, shortly after its organization, to join the Federation of Labor, but were refused admittance, as the constitution of the Federation forbade the enrollment of national unions which drew distinctions as to color. At the instigation of the officers of the Federation of Labor, a rival international organization, which did not draw the color line, was also formed, in 1891. In 1894, however, the color limitation upon membership was removed by the International Association of Machinists; and,

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1 Secretary's Report. (In Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' National Union, Providence, R. I., January 8, 1883, pp. 21-23. Cincinnati, 1883).

2 Secretary's Report. (In Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Cincinnati, O., January 14, 1884, p. 21. Albany, 1884).

in the following year, the two rival organizations united.[1] National unions of those trades which have felt most keenly the competition of the negro, have, however, admitted them from the first. Thus, the circular issued by the first national convention of miners held in Youngstown, Ohio, in 1873, extended "a cordial invitation" to negro miners.[2]

But when the national associations have removed the ban of prohibition, local unions have frequently refused to admit negroes, and have demanded that they be organized under separate charters. As a rule, no distinction, as to color, is made in the north. Shortly after the women in the Chicago meat packing houses were unionized, a colored girl asked admittance to the meeting room. "Admit her", said the President after a moment's silence, "and let every one give her a hearty welcome. Since that time, colored women have been freely admitted to membership.[3] In the south, however, where negroes are more numerous, and prejudice is stronger, they are usually formed into a separate local. In one instance, the white carpenters of New Orleans, about 1884, refused to join the local union of the trade affiliated with the National Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners,

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1 Reports of the Industrial Commission. Vol. XVII, p. 217. Washington, 1901.

2 Printers' Labor Tribune, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 4. November 21, 1873

3 Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Vol. 2, No. 37, p. 28. Syracuse, October, 1902.

because the charter for New Orleans was already held by a few blacks, and, at that time, the Brotherhood refused to grant more than one charter in the same city.[1] Later, the International Union of Carpenters was forced to amend its laws so as to permit the formation of more than one union in each place; and today over sixteen locals, composed wholly of negro carpenters, are to be found in the Southern States.

Friction between nationalities has led to further sub-division of the basic unit of government in the trade union. The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission found some nineteen nationalities at work in the mines. The employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company are, it is said, of thirty-two nationalities and speak twenty-seven different languages. In the meat packing houses of Chicago, Germans, Bohemians, Lithuanians, Poles, Slovacks, Italians, and Greeks have succeeded one another in bewildering succession. Obviously, it is frequently impossible to organize each of these many races into separate locals; and national trade

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Report of the General Secretary. (In Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, August 5-9, 1884. Cincinnati, n.d.).

unions whose members speak many tongues, often refuse to attempt it. Resort is made to various expedients in order that business may be transacted in joint meetings. Constitutions, circulars, and all other documents are printed in several languages. Interpreters are used at the meetings of the unions; one recording secretary is sometimes created for each language spoken by the members; and the officers are usually divided among the several nationalities. In a few cases, the several races meet in adjoining rooms; and propositions are brought successively before each body. But such makeshifts are inconvenient; and, when race antagonism arises, the only solution is the sub-division of the local.

Sometimes, national political differences also cause ill-feeling, and render necessary division according to race. In the late seventies, a union of foreign cigar makers, composed of Cubans, Spaniards, Mexicans, and Italians, with a preponderance of the Spanish element, was formed in New York City. Shortly afterwards, during the public agitation in favor of Cuban liberty, they introduced the discussion of these political and national questions with the result that the local went to pieces.[1] Moreover, the German workmen who come to this country are as a rule deeply saturated with the

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[1] Cigar Makers' International Journal, Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 3. New York, May 1878.

socialistic theories so prevalent among the members of European trade unions. They are accustomed to discuss freely in the meetings, political and social questions, and desire to use the union as a means for spreading the propaganda of socialism. Upon these points, they come into direct conflict with the American members of the union, with the result that the two factions sometimes split into independent bodies. About 1880, a few German socialists seceded from the New York Local No. 144 of the Cigar Makers International Union. They formed an independent organization known as the American Tobacco Workers' Association, and issued a paper called "Wahrheit", in which German socialistic doctrines were expounded. Between 1880 and 1882, about three thousand German cigar makers arrived in New York, nearly all of whom were socialists of the school of Carl Marx and Lasalle. They joined the local union at the rate of over one hundred a month; and latent friction soon threatened to burst forth into open conflict. The party platform of the new members was "all officers not socialists must be turned out". A regular political campaign was begun, marked on both sides by the usual misstatement and abuse. At the same time, the socialists opposed a bill to abolish tenement houses, as a "worthless and temporary remedy", and retarded the efforts of the American members to secure its adoption by the state legislature. Finally, after a failure to elect the treasurer, and so to capture the funds, the German element seceded, and

later united with the American Tobacco Workers' Association of New York to form the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union, an organization which remained independent of the International Union for several years.[1]

From one cause or another, therefore, each of the several nationalities working at a trade demands a separate local charter. When, as in the case of the carpenters and bricklayers, there is no complex sub-division of a trade, separate local unions of foreigners can be readily formed. But in the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and the United Garment Workers, where there are many sub-divisions, the problem becomes more difficult. The butcher workmen have found it impracticable to recognize distinctions as to race or nationality. The United Garment Workers have organized in Chicago a local union of Italians, employed as pressmen, pants finishers, and coat makers; and, when the number of workers in one branch of the trade is large enough to justify further sub-division, differences of nationality are sometimes recognized. But obviously, this is possible only in the larger cities.

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1 Cigar Makers' International Journal, Vol. 7, Nos. 7-11, New York, April-August 1882. Also Report of the President. (In Proceedings of the Fifteenth Session, Toronto, Ont., September 17-25, 1883. (Toronto, 1883).

The territorial jurisdiction of a local union is usually bounded by the corporate limits of the town or city for which it is chartered. In some cases, however, its territorial jurisdiction is extended so as to include small outlying towns. For, the journeymen in such places, organized as well as unorganized, may seriously undermine the scale of wages, enforced by the strong union in a large city. The New York local of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has, for example, jurisdiction over a radius of fifty miles from the city, and includes pressmen in such towns as Hoboken, Jersey City, and Newark, as well as the several boroughs of Greater New York. On several occasions, a local of the International Typographical Union has opposed the granting of a separate charter to printers in a small neighboring town on the ground that the existence of a separate union would endanger the maintenance of its scale. The Iron Molders, the Cigar Makers, and other international organizations, require, when the small number of craftsmen in any place does not justify the formation of a local union, that such isolated members deposit their cards with the nearest local. But, as soon as the number of members in any place increases above a certain minimum, a separate charter is granted.

In a few cases, certain peculiar conditions of the trade have rendered necessary the formation of locals of even

wider territorial jurisdiction than the Pressmen's Union of New York City. The structural iron workers, for example, are sent out in colonies from large cities to build bridges. The territorial jurisdiction of the local in each large city is, therefore, made broad enough to include these isolated colonies. The Cleveland local, for example, embraces within its membership all structural iron workers in forty-three counties. Similar conditions exist among the compressed air workers, who work in the caissons and diving bells, used in driving piles, and building piers for bridges. All the important companies employing compressed air workers have their offices in New York City, from whence colonies of men are sent to all parts of the country; and the union of the craft, though bearing the title of a national organization, is really a local union of about four hundred members with headquarters in New York City. The men in each colony maintain an informal organization during the weeks or months in which they are absent from New York. But their wages are fixed by the local before they leave the city, and all powers are practically vested in the mass meeting of members, who remain in New York.

But even though the territorial jurisdiction of a local be confined to the corporate limits of a town, and though it may embrace only journeymen employed in a certain branch of the trade, its membership frequently becomes too

large for good government. The meetings degenerate into mob-deliberation. Intelligent discussion of any important question is difficult. Men who advocate a sane and conservative policy are often hissed down. Factions and cliques are inevitably created, and threaten by their acrimonious bickerings to disrupt the local union.

Unscrupulous leaders also take advantage of such conditions to establish themselves in power. In the days of Sam Parks, the famous walking delegate of the structural iron workers, there was only one local union of structural iron workers in New York City. The membership was nearly four thousand; and meetings were held in a small hall with a seating capacity of only a few hundred. Parks built up a cohort of henelers by using his position and his power over employers to secure for his favorites the choice employment, such as the job of foreman. When he desired re-election or needed a vote of confidence, he would tell his adherents, or henelers to come early. So the room would be packed with men who would vote as he desired; and the other members failed to find admittance.

A similar though less familiar condition of things has, at times, existed in New York and Chicago unions of bricklayers and in local unions of other trades. For example, about 1890, the local union of bricklayers, No. 7, New York, had a membership of two thousand, and met in a hall with a seating capacity of three hundred and fifty. There were

several factions within the organization; and, in order to secure the adoption of a particular measure, one clique would sometimes so pack the hall, that the members of the other faction would be unable to crowd into the room. In this way, a certain minority brought about, for a time, the withdrawal of the New York local from the international federation of the trade. The continual ferment stirred up by the recriminations and dissensions of the warring factions threatened repeatedly to rend the society asunder. The international secretary of the bricklayers has several times proposed that to prevent the growth of such large unions, no subordinate association be allowed a membership exceeding five hundred, and that whenever the membership exceeded five hundred, a charter should be granted to the surplus.[1] A rule limiting the membership of any local union to four hundred was, indeed, adopted by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters in 1886.[2] The provision proved unsatisfactory, however, and it was repealed a few years later.

The size of the local union is greatly diminished by subdivisions according to branch of the trade, sex, color,

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1 Annual Report of the President and Secretary of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union for the year ending November 30, 1890, p. 47. Cohoes, N. Y., 1890. For a description of similar conditions in the Chicago local of bricklayers, see Reports of the President and Secretary of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union for 1886. Washington, (n.d.).

2 Constitution and Rules for Local Unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, adopted 1886. (n.p., n.d.)

and nationality. For example, the structural iron workers' local of Sam Parks' day has been replaced by three unions, one of housesmiths and bridgemen, another of inside architectural bridge and structural iron workers, and a third of finishers. But, even at a very early date, large local unions were split up into smaller units merely for governmental efficiency. Workmen usually desire that the place of meeting be as near their homes as possible. In the spring of 1859, for instance, a union of machinists and blacksmiths was formed in Philadelphia with three hundred members. As the membership increased, those residing in the lower end of the city withdrew and formed a lodge in the vicinity of the navy yard and the down town shops. Later, another local was formed in the northeastern part of Philadelphia.[1]

As has been intimated, uniformity and harmonious cooperation are maintained between the several unions within the corporate limits of any city by the formation of district councils. Another objection to the subdivision of the local union, namely that the local may become too small, has been partly removed by fixing a minimum number of applicants to whom a charter may be granted. In order that the suspended members of a local may not be granted a charter, the

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1 Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. IX, No. 5, p. 504. Cleveland, March 1872.

constitutions of many national unions provide that the consent of the unions already existing in such locality must first be obtained. It has been found, however, that under this law, the local union already chartered in any place, often prevents the creation of other unions in every way eminently desirable. The Cigar Makers' International Union and a few other organizations, therefore, vest all power to grant charters in the national executive board. But before a new charter is granted, the application must be brought to the attention of the unions already existing in the locality, and if any objections are made, they must be carefully considered by the board.[1] As far, then, as present indications show the general tendency seems to be to remove all limitations to the subdivision of the local, and to vest in the national executive boards, power to organize the members in each place into primary mass meetings according to the needs of the trade in each locality.

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1 Constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. Adopted 1896. Fourteenth Edition, sec. 170. (Chicago, n.d.).

CHAPTER IV

WHY THE LOCAL UNIONS OF A TRADE FEDERATE

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the local societies of most organized trades have been federated into various territorial units, district, state, national and international. In a few instances, district or state unions have preceded the formation of associations having the wider territorial jurisdiction. Usually, however, the scattered locals federate immediately into a body which bears the title national or international union; and, later, district, and sometimes, state associations have been formed as convenient subdivisions of these larger federations.

There have been three important causes for the federation of local trade unions; firstly, the movement of workmen from one city to another, secondly, the existence, in certain industries, of competition between manufacturers in different places, and finally, the need of a joint fund from which to support certain activities of the local union.

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Mobility of Labor.

Possibly the chief cause for the federation of local trade organizations has been the perpetual ebb and flow of journeymen from one part of the country to another. This interlocal competition of labor existed, of course, from the birth of American trade unionism, and, by 1815, had already become a very serious problem to the local societies of printers which by that date had been formed in all the large cities of the Atlantic seaboard. One writer, discussing, in 1847, just a few years before the era of national unions, the great interurban movements of the population, says of the artisan class that they too, like their richer neighbors "must sometimes change their place. When work is dull in one town, they go to another, and there are thus two streams of workmen perpetually settling between our two great cities while in a smaller degree a similar circulation is kept up through the whole country. There is also a current of immigrants to the west; and, in this, there is always a considerable infusion of mechanical labor"[1].

With increased rapidity and decreased cost of railway transportation, labor has continually become more mobile. In nearly all trades, there has arisen a certain class of traveling craftsmen or tramp journeymen, mostly young men, who, imbued with the modern spirit of restlessness, travel from place to

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1 The American Mechanic and Workingman, by James W. Alexander, p. 108. New York and Philadelphia, 1847.

place, and work for a few weeks or months, now here, now there, as fancy or the hope of more wages may direct. The amount of this shifting labor is especially large in the building trades, probably because of the intermittent character of the work. There are, indeed, regularly organized gangs of Italians and other foreigners, as well as many Americans who constantly shift to those localities where building operations are especially active. A few years ago, a part of this shifting body of laborers may have been at work on the World's Fair Buildings in St. Louis. Later, they were perhaps employed on the New York Subway. Then the building operations in Baltimore's burnt district probably attracted them; and more recently, they may have been engaged on the buildings of the Jamestown Exposition or upon the reconstruction of San Francisco.

Besides the great national labor current between cities, there are smaller eddies, from the country and small towns into the large cities and vice versa. The union carpenters in large cities have for years complained bitterly of the periodic invasion of the "hatchet and saw" carpenters from the surrounding country and small outlying towns. On the other hand, the photo-engravers in the small towns of New England and of New York State, fear greatly the competition of the photo-engravers coming from New York City, who, on account of superior skill, are in great demand, and replace, even at considerably higher wages, the poorer resident workmen.

An industrial depression, the introduction of machinery or any other condition which increases the number of unemployed or decreases the skill required, serves to intensify in any trade this interurban competition. About 1880, occurred the introduc-

tion of wood working machinery operated in planing mills; and, as a consequence, the doors and sash, mouldings, window-frames, and other work which the carpenter had formerly made by hand in his workshop, were now turned out by machinery in the factory. At the same time, the actual work of the carpenter on a building had become minutely sub-divided. Less carpenters were, therefore, required to do the same amount of work; and, consequently, in every large city, there was created a small army of idle members of the trade, ready to "scab" in their own or other towns.[1] Moreover, the annual influx of the country carpenter assumed large proportions from this time. As a union official once expressed it to the writer, "Every countryman who had built a hen-house or a cow-shed thenceforth considered himself capable of competing with men who had worked at the trade all their lives; and so far had the process of subdivisions been carried that, in many cases, such competition was possible".

In times of industrial peace, it has been found that when a local, perhaps after a long and hard fought strike, has finally succeeded in raising wages above the general level, the members of the trade in other cities, both union and non-union men, gradually come to hear of it, rush to the place, and by their underbidding force down wages possibly below their original level. Thus, when, about 1816, the union of New York printers had finally secured a high wage and other favorable conditions, the printers even in distant places finally came to hear of it, and rushed in considerable numbers

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1 The Carpenter, Vol. VI., No. 10. Cleveland, October 1886.

to New York with the result that the uniform scale was abolished and many could not even find employment.[1] "Take the case of the journeymen tailors", says a writer in 1847, "Suppose this class of operatives in Newark to strike for higher wages, and to succeed. Journeymen tailors will be at once tempted to flow from New York, and this influx will be in proportion to the general distress; and secondly to the amount of increasing remuneration. Of course, it will be less than it would be in the case of unskilled labor, such as that of the piecers and pickers in cotton factories, where the vacuum would be filled up almost immediately. The consequence of this transfer of labor is that wages rise elsewhere, and by degrees fall here. After a short time, the proportion is much what it had been, and the general rise of level is scarcely appreciable".[2]

Because of the mobility of labor, the creation of a central union of the trade becomes necessary both for the protection of the local union and of the traveling journeyman. On the one hand, by reason of the movement of workmen from one place to another, (a) the local union is greatly handicapped in its attempts to improve the conditions of employment; (b) its efforts to limit entrance to the craft are

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1 Historical Sketch in the constitution of the New York Typographical Association of June 1831, as amended in 1833.

2 The American Mechanic and Workingman, by James W. Alexander, p. 127. New York and Philadelphia, 1847.

sometimes completely nullified; and, (c) since suspended members can often readily find work in some near by town, its power to exact obedience from its members is seriously weakened. On the other hand, the traveling craftsman, because of the high initiation fee and other excluding barriers set up by the local union, oftentimes finds it difficult to obtain employment; and the hardships of his journey are thereby increased.

Both in time of industrial war and in time of industrial peace, the local union is hindered in its efforts to raise wages or shorten hours by the competition of journeymen from other cities. Local unions engaged in industrial war have sometimes unexpectedly discovered that their strike is lost because the employers have been able by advertisements to secure from other cities journeymen who were willing to act as strike-breakers. The master printers of New York pursued this policy as early as 1809, advertising in Boston, Philadelphia, and other cities for journeymen to fill the places of the striking members of the New York Typographical Society.[1]

The loss of a strike because of the influx of out-of-town workers was, in the case of the carpenters, the immediate cause leading to the formation of a national trade union. In the spring of 1881, three locals of carpenters

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[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61, November 1905, p. 873. Washington, 1905.

and joiners in St. Louis went on strike. But, after a few weeks, they found that their strike was doomed to be a failure because of the influx of carpenters from other cities. In consequence of this experience, the St. Louis carpenters resolved to unite the independent locals of the country into one national organization. A provisional committee was elected from the three locals in the city. A journal was also started, and sent broadcast throughout the country as a means of spreading the propaganda in favor of a national union. Finally, in July, 1881, a national convention was held in the city of Chicago, and the present federal organization, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was formed.[1]

On the other hand, from the point of view of the traveling journeyman, some agreement between the scattered locals of a trade is desirable, in order that he may be the more readily admitted to the union of the place in which he hopes to find work. With only a few dollars between himself and starvation, the sincere unionist is often unable to pay the high initiation fee required for membership in the association of the place to which he has journeyed in search for work. Consequently, if the union is strong, he may not be able to find employment at all, and, if it is weakly organized only by turning "scab", and probably accepting a much

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1 The Carpenter, Vol. 1, No. 1, St. Louis, May 1881.

lower wage than he had previously earned. In the address to journeymen printers issued in 1850, it is urged that "the formation of a national union of printers will relieve the distress of brother craftsmen, incurred in journeying from one place to another in search of work". "One reason", says a writer in the Iron Molders' International Journal "for the formation of a national union was that the right hand of fellowship might be extended to a molder everywhere in his wanderings"[1]. The same idea is also expressed by the delegates who in 1864 met in convention to form the Cigar Makers' National Union.

National unions have employed several expedients, which while relieving the hardships of the "tramp" journeymen, at the same time, protect the local by partly removing the temptation of such men to work below its established scale of wages. One device, used probably by every national or international association in the United States, is the traveling card. This card is issued by a local union to those members who wish to travel in search of work. It admits the bearer to other organizations of the trade without the payment of an initiation fee, but must be deposited with some local within a given interval of time under penalty of a fine or suspension. The traveling card is to some extent

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1 Iron Molders' International Journal, Vol. 7, No. 5. May 1871.

a guarantee to the traveler that the local union which has deposits it will, if possible, find him employment. At the same time, the local has the assurance that as a member, sooner or later, is subject to its laws, and is not so apt to violate them.

A few international associations advance a loan to members who wish to travel in search of work. This plan was tried by the iron molders as early as 1860,[1] but was abandoned a few years later, on account of the numerous abuses in administration.[2] The Cigar Makers' International Union advanced a loan to traveling craftsmen as early as 1867,[3] but, like the iron molders, soon abandoned it on account of the difficulties of administration.[4] In 1879, however, the loan system was reorganized by the cigar makers on a practicable and efficient basis, and has been a notable activity of

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1 Constitution of the Iron Molders' Union of America, adopted 1860, Article VI. (In Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention, Albany, January 10-14, 1860. N.p., n.d.).

2 Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Boston, Mass., January 2, 1867. Philadelphia, 1867.

3 Constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union, adopted 1867, Article XI, sec. 8-11. (In Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Session, Buffalo, September 8, 1867. NC.)

4 Journal and Program of the Twentieth Convention, Milwaukee, September 21, 1893. (Chicago, n.d.) p. 6.

5 Constitution of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, Article XIV. (In Cigar Makers' Official Journal, Vol. V, No. 1, New York, September 15, 1879).

the international union from that time until the present day. The loan helps greatly to lessen the congestion of unemployed in any locality. It is practicable, however, only in those organizations which have attained a high degree of administrative efficiency, and so is not generally popular.

As has been said, another effect of the movement of journeymen from place to place is that the independent local union is unable to limit the number of those learning the craft. The union in Baltimore may, for example, enforce the most rigid rules, defining the period of apprenticeship, and the number of apprentices to each shop. But if unions of the craft in Philadelphia and Washington have a very loose system, the only result will probably be that Baltimore will serve as a convenient outlet for the constantly accumulating body of unemployed in both cities.

The need of some national regulation of apprenticeship has, therefore, also co-operated to cause the federation of local unions. The adoption of a series of uniform rules for local societies was an important work of the national conventions of printers which in 1836 and 1837 made an abortive attempt to establish a national union.[1] In the address to journeymen printers issued in 1851, one reason urged in favor of a national organization is the possibility

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[1] Address to Local Societies by the Convention of the National Typographical Society in 1836. Washington 1836.

of limiting apprentices, "by which measure, a too rapid increase in the number of workmen, too little care in the selection of boys for the business, and the employment of hords of half men at half wages to the detriment of good workmen would be effectively prevented".[1] The national regulation of apprenticeship was from the beginning an important purpose of the iron molders'[2] and cigar makers' union;[3] and a law limiting the number of apprentices for each employer or firm of contractors was adopted by the International Union of Bricklayers,[4] as early as 1867.

Finally, so long as the local societies of a trade are disunited, the member suspended for non-payment of dues, or for some other violation of law is able to escape much of his penalty by traveling to another city. There, upon payment of an initiation fee, he will probably be admitted to the union of the locality, and so will be able to find em-

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1 Address issued by the Convention of 1850 to the Journeymen Printers of the United States.

2 Constitution adopted 1864, Article VIII (In Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Buffalo, N. Y., January 6, 1864. Philadelphia, 1864). Also amendment adopted 1867. (See Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Boston, Mass., January 2, 1867. Philadelphia, 1867)

3 Constitution for the Government of Local Unions, Article II, sec. 1. (In Proceedings of the Second Session of the Cigar Makers' National Union of the United States, Cleveland, O., September 5, 1865.

4 Constitution and Rules of Order of the International Union of Bricklayers. New York, 1867.

ployment. The threat of suspension in such cases loses some of its terror for the delinquent, and much of the coercive power of the union over its members is destroyed.

The effective punishment of outlawed members has been a somewhat incidental purpose of federal trade unions. Some years, however, before the rise of a national union, the scattered societies of printers exchanged list of "rats", as offenders against the union were called, and by general agreement all locals refused to admit such individuals to membership.[1] The address of 1850 to the printers of the United States also advanced, as another argument in favor of national unions, the possibility of adopting "measures to prevent disgraced members of the profession enjoying anywhere in the United States those privileges which belong exclusively to honorable printers".[2] The iron molders, the bricklayers, the locomotive firemen and many other crafts early published in their trade journal, or exchanged by correspondence between the local unions, a black list of expelled members; and, by a law of the central union, all subordinate branches were forbidden to admit them to membership.

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1 See page 136

2 Address issued by thr Convention of 1850 to the Journeymen Printers of the United States.

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Territorial Widening of the Market.

A second important cause for the creation of district, state, national, and international unions has been the need of maintaining uniform wages and other conditions of employment in those industries where competition exists between manufacturers in different parts of the country. Since wages is an important item in cost of production, one employer will not willingly pay more wages than his competitors. On the contrary, he will earnestly seek at every favorable opportunity to pay less, in order that, through his ability to sell cheaper, he may absorb some of their business.

A local union is, therefore, unable to raise wages, for any length of time, much above the general level of wages paid in other factories which compete with the employers of its members for the same market. For illustration, take the case of the boot and shoe industry. Ruinous competition between manufacturers of footwear in various parts of the country has, except in the case of certain popular high grade shoes, reduced their profits to the lowest possible margin. At the same time, a single trust, by the aid respectively of its patent rights, and the present prohibitive tariff on hides, has been able to control the price of machinery and leather. Moreover, methods of production are very much the same in all parts of the country. Besides rent and transpor-

tation, the most important available item is, therefore, wages; and a difference of a few cents per piece in several or possibly even a single department, may mean ruin or a prosperous trade.[1] The boot and shoe manufacturer, therefore, resists most desperately any attempt of a local union to raise wages. If the union is strong, and he is forced to yield, he may be compelled, through the falling off of sales, to shut down his plant, or reduce his working force.

Not only is it difficult for a local union independently to raise wages, but it is also hard to prevent the tendency of wages to fall in sympathy with reduction in other places. A manufacturer in a certain city calls together his employees, and informs them that his rivals are driving him out of business. If he must continue to pay the same wages as before, he will be compelled, he tells them, to shut down his plant certainly during the dull season. If, however, they will submit to a ten per cent reduction, he will be able to sell his shoes, coal, iron, or whatever the commodity may be, some cents cheaper than many others, and will secure certain large contracts for goods. The men, he declares, will lose nothing by the reduction. The factory will continue to run at full time, and some may even recover the lost

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1 The Union Boot and Shoe Worker, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 10. Boston, April 1900.

wages by working overtime. The employees probably yield; and then his competitors, who find themselves losing trade, propose in turn a reduction to their men, and so the movement spreads.[1] "The indiscriminate cutting of miners' wages in one place, is often followed by sympathetic reduction in distant regions," said the secretary of the miners of western Pennsylvania when proposing an interstate federation of miners in 1883.[2] Indeed, even in recent years, the low rate of wages paid in the bituminous district of West Virginia, a region which the United Mine Workers of America have never been able to thoroughly organize, has repeatedly tended to repress the scale, maintained in the other bituminous coal fields, particularly in Ohio and western Pennsylvania.[3]

Only in certain industries, however, does competition exist between employers in different localities. There is no such interurban competition, for example, between the employers of wage earners who perform a personal service, such as the barbers, clerks, hotel and restaurant employees, theatrical stage employees, nor between the employers of wage earners, such as the bill posters, and the bakers and confectioners who labor to produce an article for local consumption.

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1 For example, see description of conditions in the iron and steel industry. National Labor Tribune, Vol. V, p. 2. Pittsburg, May 7, 1874.

2 National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 2, p. 5. Pittsburg, January 13, 1883.

3 United Mine Workers Journal, Vol. I, No. 9. Columbus, June 9, 1892. Also Vol. III, No. 1. Columbus, April 13, 1893.

In none of these cases, has the competition between manufacturers led to the federation of the local unions of the craft.

In the class of those trades which help to produce an article for local consumption until recently, the building trades would certaining have been included, but of late years there have arisen large construction companies which, with headquarters in one city, bid for contracts in other places. These companies usually keep a permanent body of employees, to whom they must pay the wages and hours demanded by the union of the city in which the company is located. Building contractors are, however, often underbid in their estimates for certain work by contractors in another city where wages are lower and hours longer. Thus, as early as 1892, a plumbing contractor in Brooklyn made a bid for certain government work at West Point. But the plumbers' union in Brooklyn required all its members to work only an eight hour day. In consequence, the contractor was underbid about $2,000, by a master plumber in another part of the state, whose men worked nine hours and for less wages than the plumbers in Brooklyn.[1] In many cases, even the home territory of a large construction company has been invaded by contractors from places where wages are lower and hours longer.[2]

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1 Proceedings of the Seventh Convention of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, and Steam Helpers of the United States and Canada, Milwaukee, Wis., September 29-October 3, 1897, p. 19-20.

2 Some companies, when they obtain a contract in a place where

The competition between contractors in different cities is, however, still very limited in amount. Moreover, at the time when the international unions of bricklayers, carpenters, painters, plumbers, and other of the building trades were organized, such competition did not exist, and hence exercised no influence upon the formation of such associations.

In some of the building trades, a wide territorial competition has come to exist between a certain portion of the employers. We have, in consequence, a condition in which uniform wages and hours are demanded for one part of the trade, while, for the other part, a wide variation is possible. For example, about 90 per cent of all granite used on buildings is cut into a finished form at the quarries, is shipped to the locality for which it is ordered, and at once put into place by the stone masons. The wages paid at one quarry are, therefore, much affected by those paid at another which competes with it for shipments. Indeed, the establishment of a uniform wage scale was from the beginning a prime purpose of the Granite Cutters' National Union.[1] On the other hand, about ten per cent of all granite is cut in the city where it is to be used for building. A contractor

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the wage scale is lower than that paid to their own employees, sometimes hire local journaymen to do the work in such places. But this practice is vigorously opposed by the union.

[1] Granite Cutters' International Journal, Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 2. Rockland, February 1878.

frequently makes a sudden change in his plans, or wants immediately more stone, and is compelled to send to the local stone yard. The wages of the granite cutters who do this emergency work, is unaffected by the wages paid at the quarries or in other cities. In 1905, for example, while stone cutters in New York City received $4.50, those working at New England quarries were paid only about $3.50.

A similar condition exists among other of the building trades. Since the introduction of wood-working machinery about 1880, more and more of the woodwork on buildings, such as doors and sash, mouldings, sills, and window frames, is made in large planing mills, and sent to all parts of the country. Hence, the membership of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters consists of two groups, the one requiring from the international association more or less uniform regulation of wages and hours, the other demanding that such questions be left to the local union. Among the structural iron workers, and the sheet metal workers, a similar differentiation exists between the inside or shop and mill employees, and the outside workers.

Not alone in house-building but in other industries also, one class of employers is to be found competing for a local, and another for a much wider territorial patronage. While newspaper publishers sometimes have their mattresses made in adjoining towns during times of a strike, no competition

exists between newspaper publishers in different cities. The wages, received by printers in any newspaper office, are not, therefore, affected by the wages paid to printers in another city. On the other hand, one large book and job publisher often regulates the wages of his men according to the scale of wages paid by his rival in some other part of the country. Similarly, in the laundry industry, the custom laundry workers are found in shops which cater to local patronage, while another class of laundry workers are employed on newly made goods in factories having a wide territorial market.

Not only wages, but the length of the working day, methods of wage payment, and many other items in the contract for employment enter into cost of production, and are best regulated for all competing factories by federation of local unions. Such abuses as the truck system and the screen system, for example, have been retained by even scrupulous coal operators in order to meet the competition of less conspicuous employers who insist upon continuing such practices; and they can be abolished only by the combined efforts of all miners' local unions in the country. Thus, about 1883, one of the districts of Ohio went on strike against the screen system. The state president at once issued a circular ordering the strikers to return to work at once, since the screen system could only be abolished by the coöperative action of

the various state unions.[1]

The desire to secure uniformity in wages, hours, and the conditions of employment, which directly or indirectly affect cost of production, has been a primary cause for the federation of many local trade unions. In the address to journeymen printers of the United States, issued by the preliminary national convention of printers held in 1850, it is stated that one purpose of the proposed national union will be, to reach"an understanding in the regulation of scales of prices in different localities so that those in one place may not be permitted to become so comparatively high as to induce work to be sent elsewhere". When, in 1874, the window glass workers issued a call for their first national convention, they urged the need of a uniform sliding scale for all window glass factories as the chief reason for creating a national union.[2] The establishment of a uniform rate of wages was a primary aim of the men who formed the New England

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1 The National Labor Tribune, No. 46, p. 5. Pittsburg, December 1, 1883.

2 National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 20, p. 1. Pittsburg, May 23, 1874.

Boot and Shoe Cutters' Union,[1] the New England Lasters' Protective Association,[2] and the International Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. About 1879, the miners of the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania formed various county associations to secure at all coal pits the establishment of an eight hour day.[3] The miners of western Pennsylvania working at all colliers situated upon the railroads or rivers by which coal was brought to the Pittsburg market, early united to maintain equal conditions of employment in all competing mines.[4] The establishment of an eight hour day, the abolishment of the screen system of wage payment and the general inauguration of other rules of employment are stated as a leading purpose for calling the national convention of the trade in 1880 and 1883.[5] Finally, the establishment of a permanent, stable national organization among the miners really dates from the first joint conference of miners and operators, which, in 1886, drew up the first joint wage scale for the bituminous coal fields of the central states, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania,

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1 The Laster, Vol. 111, No. 3, p. 1. Lynn, Mass., October 15, 1890.

2 The Laster, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1., August 15, 1888.

3 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1872-3. Harrisburg, 1874.

4 The National Labor Tribune, 8th year. Pittsburg, March 27, 1880, p.

5 National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 20. Pittsburg, May 26, 1883, p. 5.

West Virginia, and a small section of Iowa.[1]

Frequently, an interlocal trade union has been formed in an industry before competition has arisen between employers in every part of the country. In such a case, the maintenance of uniform wages and hours has only later become an important function of the organization. When the Miners' National Association was formed in 1873, the miners in each of the several coal districts of the United States had their own exclusive market; and mines in one district did not compete with those in another. The sole purpose of the national association during the short two years of its existence, was, therefore, the maintenance of a central strike fund. When the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers was, however, organized in 1885, the market for coal had, during the interval become national in scope; and the energies of the association were, as has already been pointed out, chiefly directed to the regulation of wages and hours by means of national joint conferences between miners and operators. When the Cigar Makers' National Union was formed, cigars were still largely made in small shops for local consumption; and the maintenance of uniform conditions of employment was not, in the beginning, enumerated as an object of the new organization.

Even when the existence of competition between

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[1] See page [illegible]

employers has been a primary cause for the creation of a federal trade union, a uniform wage scale has become a possibility, sometimes only after many years of effort. The establishment of a uniform scale of wages was from the formation of a national union in 1859, a prime purpose of the Iron Molders' Union of America. At the convention of 1868,[1] a resolution was adopted that the president, whenever conditions justified, should take such action as he might deem necessary to equalize wages. Not, however, until the first national agreement of the molders with the Stove Founders' National Defense Association in 1890 did a national wage scale become a reality. Though the maintenance of uniform conditions of employment has been stated as a prime purpose of every international association of boot and shoe workers, such uniformity has not been attained even at the present day. On the other hand, some national organizations, such as the National Window Glass Workers' Association and the Amalgamated Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers have from the beginning regulated the wages and hours of its members in all parts of the country.

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1 Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Toronto, Canada, July 1868.

Workingmen have sometimes attempted to limit the output of a commodity in the hope that by raising, in this manner, its price, they will obtain higher wages from their employers. When, however, the manufacturers in different parts of the country compete for the same market, it is obvious that only by all local unions of the trade uniting to shut down the plant of every competing manufacturer, can the output of a commodity be effectively limited. In only a few rare cases, however, has the desire to limit output been urged as a reason for creating district or international associations.

For the purpose of limiting output, the several county associations of the anthracite coal miners of Pennsylvania were, about 1869, federated together. The anthracite coal industry has been subject to many vicissitudes. Periods of boom time have led to over production, and over production has caused a ruinous fall in prices. In the Report of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Labor for 1873 , the fluctuating character of the industry was largely ascribed to the fact that in mining so much depends on good and bad luck in the selection of sites. "All that was necessary for a period of over production,"says the report, "was that someone exceptionally fortunate should hit upon a pure vein, and, having made judicious improvements, make money rapidly. At once, the enormous fortunes made in the coal mining region would be the topic of conversation in financial circles.

Leases would be taken; new operations opened; and production run up, until the price of coal would not cover the expense of putting it in the cars. Then a low pressure of price would follow, until the weaker operators went out of business. Then the demand would again outgrow production; and the process would have to be repeated all over again".[1]

The effect upon the miners can be readily imagined. Large bodies of the poorer laboring class were attracted to the mines by the prospect of high wages. When the glut came, their wages fell to the barest subsistence. Many would leave the mines. Others would remain to sink lower and lower in the mire of degradation and poverty. Their ramshackelty shanties, hastily thrown together in a period of boom times, fell into delapidation and ruin. Many became vicious, turbulent, and lawless.

In 1868, a strike to enforce the eight hour day led to the formation of county associations in each of the five counties into which the anthracite coal fields are divided. The strike failed to secure the adoption of the eight hour day. But it depleted the market of coal, and caused a simultaneous rise in prices and wages. Thereupon, some of the miners conceived the idea of securing steady employment at good wages by a general limitation of output. For this

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1 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1872-3. Harrisburg, 1874.

purpose, the several county associations became united, in 1869, in the General Council of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of the Anthracite Coalfields of Pennsylvania. A suspension of work was ordered in all mines for five weeks; and, by a law of the association, each miner was limited to a certain amount of coal per day.

The desire to limit the output also undoubtedly influenced the establishment of interstate associations among the miners of the bituminous coal fields. In 1870, the miners in the Tuscarawas and one or two other valleys of Ohio endeavored to raise the price of coal by limitation of output at all pits under its jurisdiction. This attempt, because of its localized character, naturally failed. But the failure taught the need of a general federation of all bituminous miners. "It taught us", said a member of the Benevolent Association some years later, "that the miner in Iowa and Illinois is interested in our cause as much as we are, that a misstep in Indiana would be felt in Pennsylvania and Ohio; and in fact that every miner should feel that a misstep of his will act disastrously to his fellow-men throughout the coal fields of the United States".[1]

When in 1880, the Railroad Coal Exchange at Pittsburg proposed a reduction in wages from 3 1/2¢ to 3¢ a bushel,

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[1] National Labor Tribune, 8th year. Pittsburg, October 2, 1880, p. 2.

the secretary of the Coal Miners' Beneficial and Protective Association of Western Pennsylvania wrote as follows:

"If the coal market as is alleged will not afford 3 1/2¢, why not suspend work for about two or three weeks, and not create the possibility of another strike? But we meet with a difficulty. It would be suicidal for the Pittsburg miners to suspend while other regions are mining. Hence the whole matter converges into the proposition that unless the miners of any trade or association are combined all over the country, one section is arrayed against the other, and the miners are forced to take one another by the throat and break down their own prices".[1] The same year, the secretary of the bituminous miners of western Pennsylvania, sent to each state association an inquiry as to the advisability of a general restriction of output; and, on March 17, 1880, he called together a National Nut Coal Restriction convention at Pittsburg. A resolution in favor of a restriction of output was adopted. But, on account of the refusal of certain state associations in the middle west to comply with the resolution, the plan was abandoned.

The regulation of the pro rata production of glass throughout the United States was enumerated as one of the purposes for calling the first national convention of Window

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1 National Labor Tribune, 8th year. Pittsburg, May 1, 1880.

Glass Workers in 1874.[1] Indeed, both the window glass workers, and the flint glass workers order a suspension of work in all factories during a portion of the summer months, partly in order that necessary repairs may be made during the hot season, but largely in the hope of securing steadier employment at higher wages during the winter months.[2]

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1 National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 10, p. 1. Pittsburg, May 23, 1874.

2 National Labor Tribune, 14th year, No. 3, p. 1, January 16, 1886.

3.

The Need of a Joint Fund.

A second important reason for the organization of associations, such as state, national, or international unions has been the need of a joint fund from which to pay strike, sick, death, disability, and out-of-work benefits.

Such a joint fund has been most greatly needed to support the members of a local union involved in a strike. The existence or availability of such a strike fund strengthens greatly the strategic position of the local union in its struggle with employers. If a strike has behind it the financial resources of all local unions of a trade, amounting say to $100,000, it has obviously much more chance of success than when supported by only one local with perhaps $1500 in its treasury. With $100,000, instead of $1500 to draw upon, the members involved in a difficulty with employers can be supported in idleness for a much longer time. More would-be "scabs" can also be bought off, and so kept from taking the places of the strikers.

Among the workers in those industries where the market for a commodity is national, the actuarial advantage, or distribution of risk, gained by the establishment of a central strike fund is overshadowed by the fact that strikes, like all other methods of collective bargaining, must be

conducted on a national scale. In such a case, one local contributes to support the strike of another local not merely upon the expectation of receiving financial aid, when, in turn, it becomes involved in a strike, but because, upon the successful termination of a strike in some distant place may depend the successful maintenance of its own wage scale.

Among the workers in those industries where the market is local, the dominant idea has been to distribute the financial burden of strikes by supporting them from the central treasury. It has been for this reason that strike benefits have, from the beginning, been paid by such crafts as the bakers and the building trades.

In those industries, however, where the market is local, the business establishment is sometimes very small. In such cases, strikes usually involve only a small part of the workers in any community; and the local union of the trade, as a rule, is fully able to carry on its conflicts with employers without financial assistance from the international union. A joint strike fund is, therefore, in such trades, not so great a necessity. Most international associations of the building trades have, indeed, adopted a system of strike benefits at their first convention; but sometimes a whole decade has passed during which not a single benefit has been paid. Thus, while the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union has from the very beginning guaranteed

to give financial help to local unions involved in a difficulty with employers, not a single strike received the financial support of the International Union from 1871, until 1880. From 1880 to 1890, one strike was on the average supported yearly, though strikes of a purely local character frequently occurred. During the hard times, in the late nineties, there were several years when not a single strike benefit was paid.[1] Finally, in 1897, it was definitely made a law of the association that a strike practically involved all members of a subordinate union before it is supported from the national treasury. Strikes against an individual firm or the minority of employers of a city must be maintained by the local.[2] Similar conditions have existed among the plumbers.[3] Though a strike benefit was established by the first national convention of plumbers in 1890, no adequate provision was made for the financial support of local strikes until 1899.

With the rise, however, of employers' associations in many cities, local unions in the building trades have been

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1 Annual Reports of the President and Secretary of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, 1870-1900.

2 Constitution and Rules of Order of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union of America. Revised, 1897. Cohoes, 1897.

3 Plumbers', Gas Fitters', and Steam Fitters' Journal, Vol. 5, No. 10, p. 3, and No. 11, pp. 5-7.

forced to combat not isolated employers, who could be defeated in detail, but the whole body of employers, unified in solid opposition. Strikes in the building trades more and more frequently involve, therefore, all union men in one locality; and financial assistance is oftener demanded from the national organization. Both the National Typographical Society of 1836, and the National Convention of Journeyman Printers held in 1850, urged that the several societies of the trade contribute to aid a local union involved in a strike. But, like the building trades, the printers have had so little need of a joint strike fund, that not until 1885, thirty-three years after the founding of the International Typographical Union was such a fund created. The smaller unions did, during this period, repeatedly demand that strikes be supported by the international association. But the large unions, which, on account of their size, were better able to finance their own strikes, always opposed the plan. Not, indeed, until the rise of the typothetae or associations of publishers in many cities has the rendering of financial assistance to members on strike become an important function of the international body.

There have, indeed, been few cases in which the giving of financial support to members on strike has not from the beginning been recognized and adopted as an important function of international associations. The need of a central strike fund was urged as a reason for calling the first national

convention of window glass workers in 1874.[1] The same argument was again advanced by the provisional committee to encourage the formation of a national union, appointed by the St. Louis local of carpenters in 1881.[2] At the first national convention of the Iron Molders' National Union in 1859, a rule was adopted that "when a strike occurred in any locality, the national executive committee should recommend to the various subordinate unions what assistance to offer".[3] The convention also voted to give financial aid to the Albany local which was, at the time, engaged in a strike. A few years later this voluntary and indefinite contribution was converted into a definite compulsory assessment.[4] Even before the creation of the Cigar Makers' National Union, the scattered and independent locals sometimes sent voluntary contributions to sister unions on strike. No provision for the support of strikes was, indeed, made at the first or second national convention of cigar makers. After the second

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1 The National Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 20. Pittsburg, May, 1874.

2 Journal to Carpenters and Joiners by the Provisional Committee, Vol. 1, No. 1. St. Louis, May 1881.

3 By Laws, Article 5, secs. 1 and 2. (In Proceedings of the First National Convention of the Iron Molders' National Union, Philadelphia, July 5-8, 1859. Philadelphia, 1859).

4 Constitution, adopted 1863. (In Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Iron Molders' International Union, Pittsburg, Pa., January 6-9, 1863. Philadelphia, 1863.)

convention, however, the absence of any law on the subject was seriously felt. A consultation took place between the national president and the national secretary, and the two officers decided upon a voluntary strike contribution which a few years later was made compulsory.[1]

It is also advantageousfor death or out-of-work benefits to be paid from the federal rather than the local fund. In the first place, when the maintenance of such functions is left to the local union, a member forfeits the right to his benefit whenever he travels in search of work. For even if the union in the city to which he journeys does maintain a system of benevolent relief he must, like the non-unionist who joins for the first time, be a member usually six months or a year before he becomes entitled to enjoy it. In the second place, small unions of ten, twenty or more are unable to pay a sick or death benefit on account of the slight difference of the risk. One death the first year would invariably swamp their funds. Such beneficiary activities are, therefore, usually maintained only by the locals of a trade in large cities.

The advantage of a federal system of sick and death benefits has, however, exerted little influence upon the

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1 Report of the President (In Proceedings of the Third Annual Session of the Cigar Makers' National Union of the United States. Baltimore, Md., September 4, 1866. MS.)

creation of district, state, or national unions. In fact, with the exception of certain railway brotherhoods, none of the early national associations adopted systems of benevolent relief until some years after their formation. While the Iron Molders' International Union was organized in 1859, its first beneficiary feature, the payment of a certain sum upon the death of a member was not adopted until about 1878.[1] The Cigar Makers' International Union was organized in 1864. In 1873, the so-called endowment plan for the relief of widows and orphans was inaugurated, but proved a failure, and was abandoned a year later. Not, indeed, until 1880 were the sick and death benefits which are to-day such important features of the organization permanently introduced.

Insurance against death and accident has, however, always been an important feature of all railway unions, because of the high premiums charged railway employees by the commercial companies; and the desire for a national system of insurance undoubtedly, in certain branches of the service, exerted some influence upon the formation of a national organization. The Grand Division of the Order of Railway Conductors, for example, formed a mutual insurance association

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1 Constitution of Rules of Order of the Iron Molders' Union of North America, adopted 1878. Cincinnati, 1878.

2 Journal and Program of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America. Milwaukee, September 25, 1893, p. 53. Chicago, (n.d.)

at its first convention in 1868. From 1877 to 1890, the activities of the order became exclusively benevolent. Collective bargaining was carried on during this period by the International Brotherhood of Railway Carpenters. In 1890, the Order decided to devote a part of its energies to the improvement of the conditions of employment of its members. Thereupon, conductors belonging to the International Brotherhood joined the Order of Railway Conductors in such numbers that a year later the International Brotherhood was disbanded.[1] The Order of Railroad Telegraphers was organized in 1886, as a purely benevolent association, and continued as such until 1891, when its laws were so amended as to make it also an industrial protective union.[2]

On the other hand, however, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers did not establish a fund for widows and orphans, and totally disabled members until 1866, three years after the formation of the international union.[3] Moreover, the present international organization of railway firemen was preceded by the International Firemen's Union, whose sole function was to promote collective bargaining. But many lodges desired the adoption of a system of national insurance;

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1 Studies in American Trade Unionism, ed. by Hollander and Barnett, p. 325.

2 The American Federationist, Vol. IX, No. 9, p. 621. Washington, September 1902.

3 George E. McNeill: The Labor Movement, p. 321.

and, as the leaders of the old association were opposed to this, the present Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen with benevolent as well as industrial aims was formed in 1874. The International Firemen's Union rapidly went to pieces; and in 1878, the small remnant of lodges still composing it, united themselves with the Brotherhood.[1]

To conclude then, the prevention of competition for employment between journeymen in different places has been an important purpose of all inter-local trade associations. In trades where competition exists between employers in different localities, the maintenance of uniform conditions of employment has also sooner or later become an important activity of the federal organization. Moreover, most national or international unions have from the beginning rendered financial assistance to subordinate unions on strike. Among the workers in a few localized industries, however, where the business establishment is small, only a small proportion of the members in any local association are usually involved in a strike at the same time. Each local union is, as a rule, able to maintain its own strikes without much financial strain, and a joint strike fund is not so greatly needed.

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1 The history of the struggle between the two international associations of locomotive firemen can be traced at full length in the contemporary numbers of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, Vol. I, Terra Haute, December 1873-November 1877, and Vol. II, Terra Haute, December 1877-November 1878.

V

FROM LOCAL TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNIONISM

Origin of the Federal Trade Union.

Prior to the formation of a district, national or international union, the scattered locals of a trade have frequently cooperated by means of correspondence for the promotion of their common interests. As early as 1796, the union hatter who left Danbury in search of work at some nearby town bore with him a traveling card which by agreement entitled him to membership in unions of hatters in other places, without the payment of an initiation fee. So also to-day, though the local unions of female hat trimmers have not yet united to form a national union, nevertheless, one local of hat trimmers recognizes the card presented by a sister society. At the trial of the Philadelphia cordwainers, in 1806, for conspiracy to raise their wages, it was brought out that the union scale of wages was the same in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. But apparently no agreement existed between the associations in the three cities.[1]

The independent associations of printers which had

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1 Trial of the Boot and Shoemakers of Philadelphia on an Indictment for a Combination and Conspiracy to Raise their Wages. Taken in Short-hand by Thomas Lloyd. Philadelphia, 1806.

by 1815, been formed in each of the large cities of the Atlantic seaboard very early began to protect themselves against various evils by means of an active correspondence. Thus, by correspondence between the local trade societies, master printers, at a very early date, were prevented from obtaining in other cities, journeymen to take the places of union men on strike. When in 1809, for example, the master printers of New York advertised in other cities for journeymen, offering good wages and permanent positions, the New York Typographical Society wrote to the other organizations of the trade that its members were on strike for higher wages and that the purpose of such advertisement was "to fill the city with hands, and thereby.....reduce the prices of work in this city to their former standard". In 1810, the Philadelphia Society, in its turn notified the New York organization that its members were about to strike in order to enforce a new wage scale. In response, the New York Union called a special meeting, and all present agreed by resolution not to take "any situation vacated by any of our brethren in Philadelphia under the present circumstances". Again, in 1816, the Boston Typographical Society, on the eve of a strike, sent a letter to all printers' unions in the country, requesting that members of the trade in other cities should not, in answer to advertisement for journeymen printers, come to Boston and so endanger the success of the strike.

The blacklist of suspended or expelled members, kept at the present day by most national unions, had its prototype in the "lists of rats" exchanged by these Typographical Societies. The New York Typographical Union, in 1809, proposed in a circular letter to all printers' societies that each union regularly forward to other organizations the names of outlawed members who were supposed to have deserted for other places. This proposal apparently met with favor, and became the common practice for some years thereafter, so that the journeyman expelled by one society was frequently blackballed by every other printers' union of the country, to which he applied for membership. In 1810, for example, we find the Albany Society sending to other local organizations, the names of certain printers who were working below the union scale; and, the following year, the New York Typographical Society forwarded to other local unions the name of a member expelled for violating its laws.

The early independent associations of printers also appear to have made some attempt to bring into uniformity the scales of wages paid in different cities. In 1816, the master printers of New York opposed the demand of their journeymen for higher wages on the ground that the consequent greater cost of printing would induce the New York booksellers to have their work done in places where wages were lower. Thereupon, the New York Society immediately appointed a committee to induce the journeymen of other cities, and of

Philadelphia and Albany in particular to raise their wages to the level of the New York scale. It was probably in part through the efforts of this committee that a higher scale of wages was within a short time adopted by the Albany unions. The wages of government printers in Washington were higher than those paid in other cities; and, in consequence, during the sessions of Congress, Washington became the Mecca of "tramp" printers from all parts of the country. The Columbia Typographical Society of Washington, from its inception, urged that wages be uniform in all parts of the country. In 1814, the society adopted a "list of prices similar to that in Baltimore, in order that wage conditions might be brought into uniformity with those existing in the nearest important city.[1]

It was an easy step for the local trade unions which had loosely maintained certain activities by correspondence, to establish a central government for the purpose of carrying out such activities more effectively; and the printers' societies which had carried on such a vigorous correspondence during the early period were the first to take the step. Indeed, the New York Typographical Society is said to have proposed a confederation of local printer organizations as early as 1816; but of this fact nothing definite is known.

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[1] Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 61, November, 1905, pp. 836-1033. (Washington, 1905).

During the interval from 1818 to 1828, correspondence between the local associations of printers practically ceased.[1]

In 1828, it was proposed at one of the meetings of the Washington union "to form a connection with the Philadelphia and New York Typographical Societies for the support of prices in each city". The Society had not, however, yet resumed its former aggressive spirit; and the proposition was tabled.

Not, indeed, until 1835 was the first attempt made to unite under a central government the various local unions of the trade. In that year, when the union printers in one of the printing establishments of Cincinnati struck against a reduction, their positions were taken by "strangers" from Pittsburg and elsewhere. Aroused by this event, the Franklin Society of Cincinnati sent to every organization of the trade in the United States a circular letter in which they proposed the use of the traveling card, the exchange of the names of "rats", and the financial support by all associations of a local union on strike. The Columbia Typographical Society in reply declared that these several proposals had been for some years universally adopted by the printers' societies. But, since no obligation existed to observe them,

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1 About 1818, the New York Typographical Society was incorporate and by the terms of its charter became a purely benevolent association. The energies of the Philadelphia and Washington societies were, moreover, during this period, chiefly directed to the maintenance of their system of benevolent relief.

they had been very loosely enforced. As a remedy, the Washington association recommended the formation of a "union of societies". This plan met with general approval; and in November, 1836, a convention was called at Washington. Delegates were present at the convention from Baltimore, New York City, Washington, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia. New Orleans was also represented by proxy. A constitution for a federal union was drawn up, and the name National Typographical Society adopted. Another general convention was held in 1837; and the call for a third convention was issued in 1838. From 1838 to 1850, no further attempt was made to maintain a national federation of local societies.

Towards the middle of the century, however, with the growth of the railways and the general development of the means of communication by land and water, the territorial market for commodities widened, laborers moved more freely from place to place, and hence the need became greater for the federation of local trade unions. If, then, we term the period from 1800 to 1850, the period of local trade unionism in this country, the period from 1850 to the present day may in contradistinction be called the era of national or international trade unionism.

In 1850, the printers renewed the effort made in 1836, and were the first to establish a central or federal government for the trade in the United States. In that year, a national convention of Journeymen Printers was again assembled

in New York City. The convention was preliminary in character, and no permanent organization was established. But at a second preliminary convention in 1851, a constitution was drawn up, and the name National Typographical Union was adopted. The first convention of the national union was convoked at Cincinnati the following year.

Territorial Expansion of the Federal Trade Union.

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The State and District Union.

As a rule, the first federal association, formed by the locals of a trade, has been national or international in name and in proposed extent of jurisdiction. In a few trades, however, national or international associations have been preceded by state or district unions. Thus, in 1854, ten years prior to the formation of the Cigar Makers' National Union, the cigar makers in certain cities, along the line of the Erie Canal and the New York Central Railway, Albany, Troy, Auburn, Rochester, Syracuse, and Utica, were led, probably by reason of the free movement of men and goods between those places, to hold a state convention.[1] No permanent organization was, indeed, established. But the scale of wages, and the rules of apprenticeship adopted by the convention were generally enforced in the cigar shops of the cities represented. The coopers of New York, some years before the rise of the Coopers' International Union, formed a state association known at first as the Grand Society and later as the Central

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[1] Journal and Program of Twentieth Session of the Cigar Makers' International Union of America, held at Milwaukee, September 25, 1893. (Chicago, n.d.).

Union of New York. When, however, the International Union was organized in 1868, the Central Union of New York at once recognized the greater utility of the wider federation. The State union was, therefore, dissolved, and its several constituent locals affiliated themselves directly with the International Union.[1]

Federal associations limited in jurisdiction to the territory of New England have been formed by a few trades largely concentrated in that part of the country. The first federal union of male spinners embraced only local organizations of the trade in New England, and was known as the Association of United Operative Male Spinners of New England, formed in 1858.[2]

Two of the federal unions established by boot and shoe workers, another trade which has been largely concentrated for many years in New England, were of similar limited territorial jurisdiction. The lasters formed, in 1868, a central association of their branch of the trade, which only embraced locals in New England, under the name New England Lasters' Protective Union.[3] Two years later, the boot and shoe cutters formed an organization of a like jurisdic-

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1 Coopers' Journal, Vol. 1, No. 4, pp. 4 and 5, Cleveland, Ohio, October and November, 1870.

2 Constitution and General By Laws of the Benevolent and Protective Association of the United Operative Male Spinners of New England. Established 1858. Fall River, 1858.

3 The Laster, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1. Lynn, August 15, 1868.

tion, known as the New England Boot and Shoe Cutters' Protective Union.[1]

Local unions of cutters and lasters in other parts of the country at once clamored for admission into these associations, but were for several years refused on the ground that before the jurisdiction was further widened, branches should be first established in the unorganized shoe centers of New England. The real reason, however, as now stated by men prominent in these early federations, is that the New England lasters and cutters had really little to gain by an alliance with members of the trade in other parts of the country, and so were free to yield to the traditional New England spirit of exclusiveness. For many years, an overwhelming percentage of shoes made in this country were manufactured in New England. Gradually, indeed, factories arose in other parts of the country. But the New England manufacturers were still able, notwithstanding the handicap of additional cost of transportation, to compete in the home markets of these new factories; and, if they were not able to do so, both employers and workmen were very loth to admit it. On the other hand, as skilled lasters and cutters were scarce in the central Atlantic states and the middle west, the rate of wages paid in the new factories was higher than the

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1 The Laster, Vol 3, No. 3, p. 1. Lynn, October 15, 1890.

prevailing rate in New England. The constant influx of workers from the older shoe centers gradually tended, however, to depress these higher wages. The cutters and lasters of the central Atlantic states and the middle west were, therefore, very desirous to protect their scale by federation with their fellow craftsmen in New England, who, on their part, felt that they had little to gain from such an alliance.

The lodges of lasters and cutters in the central Atlantic states and the middle west remained, therefore, independent for a time, or joined the district trade assemblies of the Knights of Labor; and, when the Knights of Labor opposed the formation of a national trade assembly, they secured with other branches of the trade to form the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union. At the convention of 1887, the New England lasters agreed to extend the organization to the middle Atlantic states; and one local in New York and another in Philadelphia were admitted.[1] Finally, in 1889, the lasters' association was made national in scope; and, three years later, the New England Boot and Shoe Cutters' Protective Union in similar manner widened its territorial jurisdiction.

For some years, the seamen of the United States were organized into three independent bodies. The seamen

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[1] The Laster, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3, Lynn, Mass., August 1[illegible], 1[illegible].

of the Great Lakes were formed, in 1878, in the Lake Seamen's Union. The Sailors' Union of the Pacific Coast was founded in 1885, and the Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union in 1889. The three associations were finally federated into one body in 1892, known as the International Seamen's Union of America.

The Druggist Ware Glass Blowers' League of the United States, formed during the seventies, at first embraced only local unions east of Pittsburg. The associations of the trade west of the Alleghany mountains were, about 1877, organized into the Western Division of the Glass Blowers' League. The two divisions remained independent, however, because, it has been said, of the expense of sending delegates such long distances across the mountain.[1] The Eastern Division became District Assembly, No. 149, Knights of Labor, in 1886; and the Western Division became District Assembly, No. 143, in the same year. The need of closer cooperation between the two sections in matters of collective bargaining led to the consolidation of the two districts, in 1889, to form the National Trade Assembly of the Glass Bottle Blowers of the American Continent. Subsequently, the glass bottle blowers of the American Continent have continued to remain united under the successor to the National Trade

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1 The Story of Labor, by J. C. Simonds and John T. McEnnis, pp. 629-635. Chicago, 1887.

Assembly which was known for a time as the United Green Glass Workers' Association of the United States and Canada, and which now bears the title Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

Among the coal mine workers, district or state unions preceded the formation of national and international associations. The equalization of the conditions of employment has been of prime importance among the coal miners. The reason has been because in coal mining the chief factor in cost of production is wages. A slight rise in the wage scale eats materially into an operator's profits, and limits greatly his power to undersell his competitors. The other activities exercised by federal associations of workers in other industries have sunk to comparative insignificance. Associations of miners have usually tended to assume a territorial jurisdiction embracing the workers at all colliers sending coal to the same market. During the early years of coal mining, however, the various coal fields of the country supplied different markets. Thus, roughly speaking, the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, and the bituminous fields of Western Maryland and Western Pennsylvania sent their coal chiefly to one of the large seaport cities of the Atlantic Coast, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York. The bituminous coal of Western Pennsylvania was sent into Pittsburgh the surplus not consumed in local industries was,

together with the product of Eastern Ohio and West Virginia, shipped down the Ohio River to Cincinnati and points on the lower Mississippi. Coal from the valleys of Northern Ohio, from Indiana and Illinois, and, later a portion of the output from the fields of West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania, found its way to one of the ports on the Great Lakes. When the veil of obscurity is first lifted, about 1857 to 1860, we find the miners of the various coal fields of the United States divided into separate district associations, each with a territorial jurisdiction corresponding more or less nearly to one of these competitive areas.

Of one great national union, there was at that time little need. In the first place, since little or no competition existed between coal operators in different districts, each district association was, on the whole, able to regulate the wages of its members, their hours and other conditions of employment irrespective of conditions prevailing in coal fields outside its jurisdiction. Moreover, since the work of the miner requires neither great dexterity nor skill, national as well as local limitation of entrance to the craft was then, as now, out of the question.[1]

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[1] No system of apprenticeship exists among the coal miners. The workers have been recruited from the great mass of shifting, unskilled labor, from farm hands who crowd into the mines during the winter months and successfully compete for employment with the professional miners, from the immigrant, stolid slavs and other European peasants who are now driving the native Americans out of the collieries, and from the

The miners have, however, always been a migratory body, mining the coal sent down the river in spring and fall, and the coal transported by the Great Lakes in summer. A national traveling card, recognized at all union collieries of the country has, therefore, always been a requisite. From an actuarial point of view, the cooperation of the several districts to maintain a central strike fund was also greatly to be desired in order to give added financial stability in local struggles with employers.

The creation of national unions to carry out one or both of these functions has been attempted from the very beginning. But, until 1885, when competition began to exist between coal operators in all parts of the United States, the efforts to weld together the various district associations into one clearly knit federation invariably failed; the miners were divided during a large part of the time among a number of disunited district associations.

The very first organization concerning which we have definite information, was, in fact, nominally a national union, known as the American Miners' Association. It originated in the Belleville Tract of Illinois, whence a call was issued for the miners of the United States to send delegates to a representative convention, which should be held in St. Louis in 1861. Only the miners of the Belleville Tract and eastern

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children employed about the mines such as door boy, fan boy, and the breaker boy, who rise by successive steps even to the job of fire boss.

Missouri were, however, represented in this convention. But Braidwood and LaSalle Counties, Ill. were soon afterwards organized as branch districts; and, in 1863, a district was formed in the Tuscarawas Valley under the name of the Massillion Miners' Association. The Miners' Union of Tioga County in the upper coal fields of Central Pennsylvania, which enjoyed a brief, ephemeral existence during the years 1863 and 1864, was also probably a part of this Association;[1] and the miners of Western Maryland composed another district. Save the maintenance of a national traveling card, recognized in all districts, the American Miners' Association had, however, no real functions. Nor was provision apparently made for the support of the central government, or for the representation of the several subordinate associations in a general board or council. In other words, each district union was practically independent, and had no connection with other district unions save to recognize the cards borne by members of such associations, or, possibly, when another district existed within the same state, to cooperate with it for the purpose of obtaining mining laws from the state legislature. The various districts which composed the American Miners' Association, all went to pieces amid the strikes of 1867 and 1868; and the efforts made to revive them, during 1869 and

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1 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture for Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1872-3, p. 500. Harrisburg, 1874.

the early part of 1870, were spasmodic and unavailing. So from this time forward, the American Miners' Association becomes a thing of the past.[1]

Meanwhile, however, a new district union was forming in the anthracite coal region of eastern Pennsylvania. The anthracite miners had not formed a part of the American Miners' Association. Unions had, indeed, during the closing years of that Association, undoubtedly existed in Luzern and Carbon, the upper counties of the anthracite region. But, up to the present, the lower counties, Schuylkill, Northumberland, and Columbia, had remained unrecognized. In April 1868, the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a law that, in the absence of any contract or agreement to the contrary, eight hours of labor should constitute a legal day's work. The statute had, of course, only moral force. The miners, however, at one of the colliers in the anthracite fields of Schuylkill County, sought to prevail upon their employers to put the law into effect, and, upon being refused, stopped work. They formed in a body, and marched to an adjoining colliery, where the workers were persuaded to lay down their picks and join the procession. The line of march was then taken to the next colliery, and thus the movement spread until practically every coal pit in the county had been closed down. The unions in the northern field refused, however, to coop r-

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1 George E. McNeill: The Labor Movement, pp. 244-248. Boston, 1887.

ate with the Schuylkill County miners, unless the struggle was conducted in an organized way. So a union, known as the Workmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County was formed; and the other unions were also soon created in the hitherto unorganized southern counties of Northumberland and Columbia. The eight hour strike failed. But the associations of anthracite miners remained; and, in March 1869, the several county unions became united in the General Council of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association of the Anthracite Coal Fields of Pennsylvania. About 1871, the county unions and General Council assumed the name Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association.[2]

The history of the American Miners' Association was now again repeated. District organizations, similar or identical in name and form of government to the associations in the anthracite region were found in various parts of the

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1 The name Workmen's Benevolent Association had been previously borne by an incorporate local beneficial association of miners at St. Clair, Schuylkill County. In April, 1868, the charter of this association was, by action of the court, amended so as to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the county; and the county union already formed was merged in it.

2 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture for Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1872-3, pp. 325-373. Harrisburg, 1874.

bituminous coal fields; and these districts became nominally branches of a central union, known as the National Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association. The stimulus of the agitation in the anthracite field was first in the Pittsburg district, where the miners became organized in the Miners' Protective and Progressive Association of Western Pennsylvania.[1] Unions quickly followed in the central fields of the state; and, for the purpose of securing state laws for the improvement of the condition of the miners, these several district unions were united into a state association incorporated by special act of the Pennsylvania legislature.[2] The movement to Ohio, where the miners of Tuscarawas and a few other valleys established a branch district of the so-called national union about 1871.[3] Branch districts were also formed in Indiana, Michigan, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Maryland.[4] The Illinois miners, who reorganized, as a state association, and the miners in other western states remained apart from the general federation, though their cards were recognized by all lodges of the National Union. But, as in the case of the American Miners' Association, the new central union possessed no real functions, and no fund

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1 Weekly Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 2, p. 2, Pittsburg, January 17, 1874.

2 First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture, 1873-3, p. 485. Harrisburg, 1874.

3 National Labor Tribune, 8th year, p. 2, Pittsburg, Oct. 6, 1880.

4 The Maryland Association bore, in 1874, the title, "Miners' and Laborers' Protective and Benevolent Association of Maryland." See Weekly Labor Tribune, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 2, Pittsburg, January 24, 1874.

or machinery of government to carry them out. Each district was again, practically, an independent association.

In 1873, however, John Siney, who had risen into prominence during the early movement in the anthracite region, conceived the idea of welding the various district unions into one firmly unified federal organization. As the results of efforts made by him, a general convention of delegates from the state and district associations was held at Youngstown, Ohio, October 1873; and the Miners' National Association was formed.[1] This organization, unlike its predecessors, was something more than a mere name. A central strike fund was established; delegate conventions were held yearly; and permanent paid officers were elected, who established the headquarters of the national union at Cleveland.[2] The Miners' National Association had, however, only a brief existence. It reached the zenith of its power in 1875, and went to pieces in that year after a series of disastrous strikes.

During the decade following the fall of the Miners' National Association, no national union of coal workers existed, though two unsuccessfull attempts were made to estab-

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1 Printers' Labor Tribune, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 4. Pittsburg, November 21, 1873.

2 Constitution of the National Miners' Association. See First Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Agriculture for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Appendix, pp. 532-537. Harrisburg, 1874.

lish one. The first of these attempts occurred in 1880. At the time, the coal markets of the country were glutted with coal, and prices had fallen to a low point. The miners in the Pittsburg District were especially desirous of increasing the price of coal by a limitation of output.[1] But, while normally, each coal district supplied different markets, coal might easily be attracted from other districts, should the miners in any field attempt artificially to limit the supply of coal in their own market, and so abnormally elevate prices. This is exactly what had occurred, when, as early as 1870, the miners of the Tuscarawas and a few other valleys of Ohio tried to raise the price of coal at the Great Lake ports by causing the mines to shut down for a time.[2] So an Interstate Mid Coal Restriction Convention at which were represented the miners of Western Pennsylvania, and the states of Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan was held at Pittsburg.[3] A few months later, a similar Interstate Convention was held by the coal miners of the Western states, Missouri, Kansas, Indian Territory, and Colorado.[4] But the miners of the western states refused to adopt the proposal

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1 National Labor Tribune, 8th year, Pittsburg, May 1, 1880.

2 Ibid, 8th year, p. 2, Pittsburg, October 2, 1880.

3 Ibid, 8th year, Pittsburg, March 20, 1880.

4 Ibid, 8th year, Pittsburg, July 3, 1880.

of the Pittsburg convention to limit output, and so the whole scheme fell through.[1] In 1883, another interstate convention was held at Pittsburg. Delegates were present from Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, and Western Pennsylvania; the name Amalgamated Association of Miners of the United States was adopted; and a scheme of government was drawn up by which power was vested in an executive board to consist of the presidents of the different state associations. This board was to meet every six months or oftener; and any plan which it might formulate, was to be submitted for consideration to the several state or district unions.[2] The Amalgamated Association never developed to the point of real vital existence. Nevertheless it was this executive board of state presidents which, in 1885, issued the call for the convention which gave birth to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.[3] From about 1879, scattered lodges of miners joined the Knights of Labor; and in Maryland[4] and later in Iowa,[5] the state associations were organized as District Assem-

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1 National Labor Tribune, 8th year, Pittsburg, July 31, 1880.

2 Ibid, 11th year, No. 20, p. 5, Pittsburg, May 26, 1883.

3 Ibid, 13th year, No. 31, p. 5, Pittsburg, August 1, 1885.

4 George McNeill: The Labor Movement, p. 251.

5 National Labor Tribune, 13th year, No. 29, p. 3, July 18, 1885.

blies of that Order. National Trade Assembly No. 135, K. of L. was not, however, formed until 1886, when it appears as a rival organization to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers. The miners' lodges remained, therefore, during this period, federated primarily in district or state associations, which, especially in the case of the State Union of Ohio and the District Association of Western Pennsylvania, were welded more firmly than ever before into strongly unified and highly centralized organizations.

Meantime, however, the development of the great railway systems of the country, and of transportation facilities upon the Great Lakes was breaking down the local or sectional markets and bringing all the bituminous coal fields of the United States into competition with each other. Part of the coal of western Pennsylvania was, for example, now sent from Pittsburg to the east, where it competed with the output of the Maryland, West Virginia, and Central Pennsylvania mines for the tide water markets. Part was sent to Cleveland, where, together with the coal from northern Ohio, it was transported by way of the Great Lakes until it met in competition the coal of the states to the northwest. Part was shipped down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, competing in transit with the coal of southern Ohio, Iowa, Indian Territory, and other states to the south and west. "Circumstances at the time of the formation of the Miners' National Association", wrote the Secretary of the Coal Miners' Beneficial

and Protective Association of Western Pennsylvania in 1883, "were not so favorable (to the creation of an interstate federation) as they are now; facilities for transportation were not so highly developed, and competition from distant territories was less to be feared". "Now", he continues, "the coal producing districts are indirectly, if not directly competitors to the farthest extreme, and though the coal fields of two states may have different markets, there is always some territory with which both compete in common; and the indiscriminate cutting of prices in one region is often followed by reductions in distant places"[1].

It was with minds keenly alive to the changed conditions, that the presidents of the several state associations issued, in September, 1885, their call for the interstate convention, which gave birth to the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers. "Local, district and State organizations", declares the preamble to the national constitution of that association, "have done much towards ameliorating the condition of our craft in the past; but to-day neither district nor state unions can regulate the markets to which their coal is shipped. We know this to our sorrow.---------- In a federation of all lodges and branches of miners' unions lies our only hope".

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1 National Labor Tribune, 11th Year, No. 2, p. 5, Pittsburg, January 13, 1883.

In many coal regions, wages and other conditions of employment had, for some years, been fixed by state or district conferences of miners and operators; and it was the plan of the men who founded the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to create a national joint conference board, which should regulate the wages of miners in every coal field of the United States. The movement failed, however, to assume such wide territorial proportions. At the first convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers, delegates were present from the bituminous mines of only seven states, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and Iowa. At the national joint conference, called by that convention to meet a month later in Chicago, miners and operators were present from only four states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana; and, even from these four states, the operators were not fully enough represented to guarantee unanimity of action on their part. The conference, therefore, adjourned without definite action; and, in hope of securing fuller representation of operators, as well as additional representation of both miners and operators from other states and territories, another joint meeting was held in December at Pittsburg. This conference was also unsuccessful. At a third conference, held in Columbus, February 1886, a very low scale of wages for the several coal districts represented was adopted. Only the bituminous miners from the

central states whose coal met in competition on the Great Lakes or in the markets of the North West, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and a small section of Iowa[1] were covered by this agreement. The miners of Maryland were represented at the conference; but as none of the Maryland operators were present, no scale was drawn up for the coal fields of that state. This system of interstate agreements continued for several years.[2] Dissatisfaction among operators soon arose, however; and, in 1887, the Illinois operators withdrew from the interstate agreement. As the Federation was unable to organize the miners in the southern part of Illinois, only the miners and operators in the northern fields of the state participated in the joint conference; and the latter stated as the reason for withdrawal that they were unable to pay the scale fixed by the conference, but must cut wages in order to meet the competition of the southern coal fields of the state. The secession of the Illinois operators led to the withdrawal of the Indiana operators The

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1 Neither the operators nor the miners of Iowa were represented at the joint conference of 1886; but a scale of wages was adopted for miners in the Des Moines' district.

2 The whole history of this early inter-state agreement can be gathered in great detail from contemporary numbers of the National Labor Tribune at Pittsburg.

following year; and so the interstate joint conference broke down.

The discontinuance of the joint conference did not bring about the dissolution of the national union. On the contrary, a national federation of miners has continuously existed under various names from 1885 to the present day. In 1886, the miners organized under the Knights of Labor were formed into National Trade Assembly, No. 135, K. of L.; and for years a bitter factional fight waged between the two rival national associations. In December 1888, a part of the miners of National Trade Assembly No. 135, seceded and amalgamated with National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers to form the Miners and Mine Laborers' National Progressive Union. Finally, in 1890, the quarrel between trade autonomists and the Knights of Labor was, at last, patched up. The miners still belonging to the old Trade Assembly joined the Progressive Union; and the present National Union, the United Mine Workers of America came into being.

Until 1898, however, the central association of miners was a very loose confederation. The only function continuously carried out during this whole period was the maintenance of a traveling card. But as has been seen, an agreement to recognize each other's cards is perfectly possible between completely independent unions.[2] When the United

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Henry D. Lloyd: Strikes of Millionairs against the Miners. Also Professor Bemis: Article in The Outlook for May, 1894.

Mine Workers of America was formed in 1890, a strike fund was created. But, within a year or two, the efforts to maintain it was abandoned; and strikes were again supported by the several state associations. Some attempt was made by the national officers to equalize wages, by organizing the workers, and by bringing about a rise of wages in places where the scale was greatly depressed. The national officers were also usually present at the state or district conferences with employers, and exercised a general oversight upon such agreements. In general, however, the central confederation of the trade held together, as by a thread, and continually threatened, like the earlier national associations, to break apart into a number of independent state or district unions.

The interstate agreement was renewed, in 1898. But the call to attend the joint conference was issued only to the five states which had been party to the original agreement of 1886. Moreover, since the operators of West Virginia, in which state the miners are, indeed, even to-day, weakly unionized, have always refused to attend the conference, the interstate agreement applies, at the present time, only to the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania. The miners have greatly desired to make the unit of collective bargaining correspond to the territorial jurisdiction of the national association, which now extends from Maryland and Virginia on the east to Texas and Alabama on the

south, and Washington State and British Columbia on the west. The operators in these states have consistently refused to extend the territorial application of the interstate agreement. In 1902, the miners and operators of Iowa and Michigan attended the joint interstate conference and asked admittance to its deliberations, but were refused because of the solid opposition on the part of the operators. Again, in 1906, the miners and operators of the southwestern states, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, and Indian Territory, met a similar refusal. The operators of the four central states base their stand on the ground that conditions in the outlying coal fields are so dissimilar from those in the central competitive area, and hence the admission of representatives from other states would make it difficult or impossible to achieve an agreement. In the east, they declare, the demand for coal is largely influenced by the condition of manufactures, particularly the iron and steel industry; in the west, by the state of the crops. In the east, the operators produce gas coal and coke; in the west, they produce neither. The competition between the coal fields of the east and the west is not great. On the other hand, each coal operator included in the interstate agreement feels most keenly the competition of coal from West Virginia. Moreover, while the wages in the west are equal to or higher than those paid in

the central fields, the wages paid in West Virginia are much lower. But the miners of West Virginia, the " Little Giant of the South" and the rival of Illinois for second place among the coal producing states, are not organized. "We are ready", said one of the operators at the joint conference of 1906, "to receive as our partner West Virginia, and we object to your organization going out into the States of Iowa, Michigan , Kentucky, Tennessee, and Indian Territory, and spending your force and money in bringing in those states. We demand that your efforts shall be put into those fields where the prices are lower, and not into fields that are probably paying a price equal to that paid by this organization. We do not need to bring in the people who are paying prices; but we do need to bring in the people who are not. Until you are ready to do that, we don't propose, as operators, to widen this field".[1] On the other hand, the miners contend that it has been necessary to organize and raise wages in the outlying coal fields, in order to protect the central interstate agreement. Moreover, since the scale in those regions is fixed on the interstate scale as a base, they consider it but just that the miners and operators of those fields

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1 Proceedings of Third Annual Joint Conference of Coal Miners and Operators of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Held in Indianapolis, Ind., January 23-February 3, 1900. Indianapolis, 1900.

should have some voice in determining what shall constitute the base.[1] It has been at various times proposed to establish a similar interstate joint conference for the states south of the Ohio River, and others west of the Mississippi;[2] and, since 1804, an interstate agreement has been maintained by the miners and operators of the southwestern fields of Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas.[3] The leaders among the miners are, moreover, continually urging the formation of a national association of operators and the establishment of a national joint conference; but there seems no prospect of such an outcome in the near future.

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1 The whole subject was discussed at length in considering the report of the Credential Committee, particularly at the interstate conferences of 1900, 1901, and 1906.

2 Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Joint Conference of coal miners and operators of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Held in Columbus, O., January 31-February 9, 1901, p. 49. (Chicago, n.d.).

3 Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the United Mine Workers of America, held in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., January 18-27, 1904, inclusive, p. 27. Indianapolis, 1904.

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The National Union.

In the great majority of trades, there has been no gradual expansion of the unit of government, as among the coal mine workers, from local to district and from district to national unions. On the contrary, the first federal organization of the craft has almost invariably born the title National or International Union, and has claimed jurisdiction over all local unions of the trade in the United States or in the whole continent of America. Usually, however, these so-called National or International Unions embraced in the beginning locals in only a few of the more important centers of the industry. Tho the first federal organization of machinists and blacksmiths, formed in 1859, bore the ambitious title Grand Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths of North America, it embraced the members of those trades in only four cities, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Reading, Pa., and Wilmington, Delaware. The territorial jurisdiction of the association rapidly expanded, however,[1] and, at the convention of 1860,

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[1] In March, 1860, there occurred a large strike in the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia. At once, the officers of the so-called national union, in order to prevent the influx into Philadelphia of union men from places not under the jurisdiction of the central association, opened up communication with the local unions in the cities. The strike

delegates were present from cities in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, Michigan, Kentucky, and Massachusetts.[1] The bricklayers of Philadelphia and Baltimore met, in 1865, in joint convention, and formed the Philadelphia and Baltimore Association of Bricklayers. A general secretary was elected and instructed to request all locals, known to exist in the United States, to send delegates to a national convention, which would be held the following year.[2] To this call, the bricklayers of New York, and the two adjourning municipalities of Jersey City and Williamsburg, of Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, and Richmond responded.[3] The Granite Cutters' National Union originated among the four local unions of granite cutters, working in the quarries of Maine, but, within the year had spread over New England and beyond into New York, Virginia, and Missouri.[4]

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failed. But, as a result of the correspondence and agitation on the part of the national officers the organization spread north, south, east, and west.

1 The Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. IX, Nos. 5 and 8. Cleveland. March and June, 1872.

2 Proceedings of convention of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Association of Bricklayers, Philadelphia, October 16, 1865. (MS).

3 Proceedings of convention of the International Union of Bricklayers of North America, Baltimore, January 8, 1866.

4 Granite Cutters' Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 5. Rockland, Me., August, 1877.

The jurisdiction of the early national unions, especially those established prior to the civil war, was confined chiefly to New England, the Middle Atlantic States, and the states of the middle west. During the civil war, the few scattered branches, established by some national associations in the south, were lost to the central organizations. Since the civil war, with the rise of a new industrial south, branches have, in ever increasing numbers, been established by national trade unions in that part of the country. Thus, in the years immediately succeeding the war, we find the Iron Molders' International Union rapidly extending its jurisdiction into Louisana, Alabama, Georgia, Kansas, Texas, California.[1] In 1871, the president of the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union made a trip through the south, and organized locals in Tennesee, Alabama, Louisana, Georgia, and Mississippi.[2]

In recent years, the jurisdiction of the newly formed, as well as the older National Trade Union has been rapidly extended, not only more thoroughly over the south, but also over the states west of the Mississippi River.

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1 Report of the International President. (In Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Session of the Iron Molders' International Union, Boston, Mass., January 2, 1867. Philadelphia, 1867).

2 The Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 6, p. 183, Cleveland, April 1871.

As the result of continuous efforts on the part of the national officers, the territorial jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America, formed in 1890, was, in spite of the influx of European immigrants into the mining region and steady fall in the price of coal, up to 1894 steadily extended over the outlying coal fields, south and west of the five central competitive states. On the south, Kentucky and Tennessee were early formed into a subordinate district of the National Union. To the west of the Mississippi, independent district unions had existed for some years in several states. The miners of Iowa and Kansas had both been represented, for example, in the first convention of the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers; and an association had existed for several years prior to 1888, in the northern fields of Colorado. The output of mines in the west was now steadily increasing. The yield of coal from the Kansas fields had grown from 1,390,000 tons in 1886 to 3,000,000 in 1892, and that of Colorado from about 1,400,000 in 1886 to 3,500,000 tons in 1892. In both states, the yield was largely for home consumption. Yet, already in 1892, about 33% was exported from both states and came into competition with the coal of other regions. Kansas coal early contended, for instance, against that of western Missouri in the great stretch of country west of the Kansas coal fields until it met the Colorado coal coming east. It went north and north-

west until it met coal coming from Wyoming and Iowa. Colorado coal met Wyoming coal on the north, that of New Mexico and Indian Territory on the south, and that of Kansas on the east. Moreover, not only were the fields of the far west inter-competitive, but at the same time, the competition between the states lining opposite banks of the Mississippi River formed the connecting link between the east and the west.[1] In 1893, therefore, we find the organizers of the United Mine Workers building into subordinate districts of the National Association the miners of the western states, particularly Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado.[2]

The movement reached its culmination in 1894, when the national union, in the hope of raising the price of coal in the glutted markets by a general limitation of output, ordered the miners everywhere to suspend work.[3] The miners of nearly every important coal field of the country responded to the call; and, at the special convention, held later in the year, to consider the advisability of continuing the

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1 History of Conditions in Colorado and Kansas, by P. H. Penna. (United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. 3, No. 3, Columbus, April 27, 1893.)

2 Annual Report of National President P. McBryde. (United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. 3, No. 1, Columbus, April 13, 1893.)

3 Official Report of the Fifth Annual Convention. Held at Columbus, O., April 10-12, 1894. (United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. IV, p. 2, Columbus, O., April 19, 1894.).

suspension, the coal workers of eleven states and one territory were represented.[1] The attempt to limit output failed, however; and this failure together with the hard times which were now beginning to be felt in their full force, so completely nullified the work of the national organizers that the membership rapidly sank to a few thousands, and, at the conventions of 1896, 1897, and 1898, only the miners of the five central states and the district of Kentucky-Tennessee were represented.

With the return of better times, in 1898, the territorial jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers promptly expanded. But the attempt to organize into the National Union the miners beyond the Mississippi now encountered the opposition of a rival association, the Western Federation of Miners, which, though formed in 1893, was just rising into prominence. The organization claimed jurisdiction over the coal workers, as well as gold, silver, copper, lead, and other kinds of miners working in any of the western states. Nevertheless, the United Mine Workers has continued to organize into subordinate local and district unions the coal miners of the south and west; and, though still weakly organized in those regions, yet it possesses to-day scattered lodges

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1 United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. IV, No. 4-10. Columbus, May 3-June 14, 1894.

even in such newly developed fields as those of Texas, New Mexico, Utah, Washington State, and British Columbia.

In many cases, the members of a trade, though their federal organization bears the title National Union, are localized in one small portion of the country. Thus, the so-called National Mule Spinners' Association of America has not a single branch outside of New England. The reason is that except in some of the older textile centers, the ring frame, which can be easily managed by women and children, is rapidly replacing the mule. The mule spinners are, therefore, seldom found in the southern cotton mills, or, indeed, in any of the newer textile centers, but are confined chiefly to Fall River, New Bedford, and a few other New England towns. Another dying craft, wholly confined to New England, are the elastic goring weavers, who make the elastic goring used in congress shoes, trade now rapidly disappearing. In 1904, the federal union of the trade embraced only six branches in various New England towns; and, in 1906, the Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated Association of the United States of America consisted of two branches in Brooklyn and Easthampton, Mass, respectively and had a total membership of about ninety workers.[1] The table knife grinders compose another trade almost entirely localized in New England, and the Table Knife Grinders' National Union consists at present of eight branches, situated

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1 Report of Branches of Elastic Goring Weavers' Amalgamated

in various small towns of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Similarly, the lace industry is, with the exception of one factory in Rhode Island, concentrated to East Philadelphia and a few small towns of eastern Pennsylvania; and the Amalgamated Lace Operatives of America is, therefore, also of limited territorial jurisdiction.

On the other hand, a widely reaching territorial jurisdiction is attained by the federal unions of trades such as the building mechanics, printers, bakers, and machinists, which can be found in every town, and even many villages in all parts of the country. In 1891, the secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was able to report that his organization, which at the time of its origin ten years before had consisted of locals in eleven of the more important cities of the east and middle west, then embraced 798 locals, situated in every state and territory of the United States except Alaska.[1] Similarly, the International Typographical Union and the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union have branches in every important city of the United States.

Association of the United States of North America, for month ending January 31, 1904. Also Annual Report of the General Secretary. Brockton, Mass., August 27, 1906. (MS).

[1] The Carpenter, Vol. XI, No. 8, Philadelphia, August, 1891.

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The International or Continental Union.

Very early in the history of federal trade unions in the United States, their jurisdiction was extended over local organizations of the craft in Canada. Thus, the federal association of soft stone cutters, which was formed in 1853, bore, in 1858, the name Journeymen Stone Cutters of the United States and Canada, and possessed jurisdiction, as it name implies, over local societies of the trade not only in the United States, but also in Toronto and Hamilton, Canada.[1]

Some trades desired at the very beginning to create an organization which should embrace local unions of the craft anywhere on the continent of America, and, consequently, even though no Canadian unions were represented at the first convention, included in their original title such phrases as "International Union", or "Association of North America". When in 1866, for example, a central association of bricklayers was formed, it bore the name Bricklayers' International Union of North America, though no Canadian locals had yet

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1 Circular of the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of the United States and Canada. Washington, April and June, 1858.

joined the federation. But, on account of the evident incongruity of this title, the name was, in 1868, changed to Bricklayers' National Union of the United States. Similarly, the Granite Cutters' International Union of the United States and British provinces of America, formed in 1877, embraced only locals of granite cutters in the United States. When no immediate hope was discovered of organizing the Canadian granite cutters, the words National Union of the United States were adopted, and retained until a few years ago, when, with the admission of Canadian unions, the term "international" was again resumed.

The maintenance of the closest unity between the labor movement of the United States and Canada seems to have been always desired by the American workman. The Bricklayers' National Union did, indeed, display some reluctance at first, to grant charters to Canadian unions of the trade. But, this reluctance arose from a disinclination of the Bricklayers to change the name to "international", since the change would require an increased expenditure for the purchase of new charters, seals, cards, and other clerical supplies, and might, moreover, prevent them from obtaining, as many members desired at the time, a charter of incorporation from the national government. The difficulty was finally overcome, however, by admitting the Canadian unions, while retaining,

for several years, the title "national union".[1]

But, while the American workmen desire amalgamation with their Canadian fellow craftsmen, there has been, for some time, among Canadian workmen, an agitation in favor of separate national unions. In Eastern Canada, a number of independent local unions have, for some years, refused to affiliate with the international union of the trade. About 1880 to 1882, at the time when the bricklayers of the United Staes had finally decided to issue charters to Canadian unions, there seems to have been some discussion among Canadian bricklayers as to the advisability of forming a national union of their own.[2] In 1884, a movement was agitated among the fifteen Canadian branches of the Iron Molders' International Union of North America, to secede from the continental alliances, and form an independent union. But the movement never proceeded beyond the stage of mere discussion.[3]

Until quite recently, there were in Canada few trades in which a sufficient number of local organizations had been formed to make possible the satisfactory maintenance

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1 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' National Union, Buffalo, N. Y., January 9, 1882. Cincinnati, 1882.

2 Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Bricklayers' National Union, Buffalo, N. Y., January 9, 1882. Cincinnati, 1882.

3 Iron Molders' Journal, Vol. 20, No. 1, p. 3, and No. 2, p. 4, Cincinnati, January 31 and February 29, 1884.

of separate national unions. Prior to about 1900, there were probably less than three hundred locals in the whole Dominion of Canada, with a total membership of not more than 15,000. There were some independent local unions, and a few assemblies of the Knights of Labor. Of the societies affiliated with International bodies, the five railway brotherhoods claimed the larger portion. Few indeed, of the international unions possessed more than one or two Canadian branches.

But, since 1900, the Canadian trade union movement has shown a new increase in vitality, and has advanced by rapid leaps. By 1902, the Canadian union numbered 1100, an increase of 800 in a brief three years; and the membership aggregated about 100,000. In the city of Toronto alone, seventy local unions were organized in these three years, so that in 1902, the city had one hundred and eighteen local trade unions.[1] Since 1902, the membership of Canadian unions has increased at the rate of about five thousand a year.[2] The number of local unions aggregated 1,567 in 1904.[3] Unions are being organized even in the newly developed regions of

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[1] The Union Boot and Shoeworkers, Boston, October, 1902, p.14.

[2] The membership increased by 4686 in 1903, and 5,902 in 1904.

[3] American Federationist, Vol. X, No. 12, p. 1283, Washington, December, 1903. Also Ibid, Vol. XI, No. 12, p. 1075, Washington, December 1904.

Manitoba and the North-West Territory, and in British Columbia there over two hundred locals have been formed. With the growth of the Canadian labor movement, the spirit of nationalism as opposed to internationalism took on new life.

The center of the national trade union movement has been the older settled Province of Quebec, where the French element predominates, and French is the language chiefly spoken. In Montreal and Quebec, the English speaking Canadian workmen are in a hopeless minority, and feeling that they cannot influence the policy of the union, remain apart from the labor movement. In Montreal, there are, indeed, locals of machinists and printers, composed wholly of English speaking mechanics. There are also a few locals of both English and French workers. But most unions are composed wholly of French Canadians. These French Canadians have no sympathy with the international movement, and refuse to affiliate with it. Their passionate fondness for their traditions and their loyalty to the French language completely isolate them from the English speaking Americans of the United States and Canada. Religious differences, particularly as they have resulted in two systems of semi-public schools for the two races has also tended to promote prejudice and lack of unity. The desire of the Canadian premier for "a united people, who are Canadians first and foremost and French and English only incidentally, has not yet been attained; and one

manifestation of this is the presence of independent local unions in Montreal and Quebec.[1]

On the other hand, the province of Ontario, settled largely by English or American immigrants, has always favored internationalism. That Province has felt most strongly the force of the labor movement in the United States. In fact, the Canadian branches of the International Unions were, for many years, almost wholly confined to Ontario, particularly the cities of Toronto and Hamilton. Ontario has, moreover, always been the best organized portion of Canada; and to-day nearly one-half of the unions of the Dominion are located in that Province. The other Provinces of Western Canada, now being industrially developed, since the inhabitants are English speaking, and since their unions are being founded by organizers from the United States, are also in sympathy with the international movement.

The national trade union movement in Canada has received encouragement from the clergy and the manufacturers. In some cases, the manufacturers have even forced their employees to withdraw from locals affiliated with international unions, and join the independent associations of the trade. The shoe manufacturers of Montreal, for example, have compelled

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1 The American Federationist, Vol. 10, No. 10, p. 1034, Washington, October 1903.

some of the members belonging to the branches recently established in that city by the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union to join the independent organizations of shoemakers, and to sign agreements hostile to the International Union.[1] The manufacturers are in favor of "nationalism" partly, perhaps, from a desire that the Canadian workers patronize a national instead of an international label. Largely, however, their attitude arises from the fear of the strong financial and moral support extended in time of strike to the Canadian branches of international unions by locals of the trade in the United States. The labor leaders are, indeed, careful to point out that the motives of the manufacturers are not patriotic, since many of the manufacturers who are most enthusiastically in favor of national trade unionism, are affiliated with the Canadian branches of an international association of manufacturers with headquarters in the United States.

Another factor in the struggle for national unionism in Canada are the local assemblies which have been established in the Dominion by the Knights of Labor. With the decline of the Knights of Labor, the men prominent in these assemblies, as opponents and outlaws of long standing

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1 The Shoe Workers' Journal, Boston, August, 1902, p. 20.

from the international trade unions, have naturally allied themselves with the independents, and have sought to become leaders of the national labor movement.[1]

The national movement in Canada culminated, in 1903, with the introduction into the Canadian Senate of a law which would have made it an indictable offense, punishable by two years' imprisonment for a member of an International Union, not a British subject to cross over into Canada and advise with or direct the policy of a Canadian union involved in a strike.[2] The presence of international trade union officers, as the concrete embodiment of interference in local affairs by workmen over the border has been especially irritating to the Canadian manufacturers; and their influence was added to that of the national unionists in favor of the bill. The measure failed, however, to pass.[3]

There has also been some desire for an independent Canadian federation of labor. The Dominion Trades and Labor Congresswhich has been in existence since 1884, is a branch of the American Federation of Labor, and bears sub-

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1 Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Vol. 11, No. 46, p. 30, Syracuse, N. Y., July 1903.

2 American Federationist, Vol? X, p. 469 and p. 1283, Washington, June and December, 1903. Also Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Vol. 11, No. 46, p. 31, Syracuse, July, 1903.

3 The bill reads as follows:
The Criminal Code, 1892, is hereby amended by adding

stantially the same relation to it as one of the State Federations of Labor in the United States. Its primary function is the promotion of legislation in Canada favorable to the workman. In 1903, the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress applied to the American Federation of Labor for sole power to issue charters to Trade and Labor Councils and Federal Labor Unions in Canada. This request was refused as being opposed to the spirit of complete internationalism. But the American Federation of Labor always demands that the central body or Federal Labor Union to which it grants a charter shall become affiliated with the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

Until 1902, the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress recognized not only local branches of the international trade unions and the American Federation of Labor, but also independent Canadian associations and Knights of Labor Assemblies. In 1902, however, a law was adopted excluding these local trade assemblies and independent trade unions. Thereupon, the associations outlawed by the Congress formed an independent National Federation of Trades, and also maintain, in Montreal

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Thereto the following was section 534:

"534A. Every one is guilty of an indictable offense and liable to two years imprisonment who, being a person not a British subject, whether residing in or out of Canada, does in Canada incite, urge, or induce workmen, by any act or means whatsoever, to quit any employment in which they may be engaged, or to enter upon any strike with the object of enforcing additional wages or terms of employment from their employer.

and Quebec, independent Trade and Labor Councils. There does exist, however, in Canada two national associations whose affiliation with corresponding organizations in the United States is neither desired nor perhaps possible; and these are allowed representation in the Dominion Trade and Labor Congress. They are the National Association of Marine Engineers of Canada and the Federated Association of Letter Carriers of Canada.[1]

The same economic causes which led to the formation of national unions in the United States, are now apparently bringing about the ultimate triumph of the international, or as it should perhaps be more correctly called, the continental trade union movement of America. While goods of Canadian manufacture are not usually imported into the United States, American products compete with those of home or Dominion manufacture in the markets of Canada. The pioneer factories of a newly developing Canadian industry are often equipped with trained workers from the United States. American workmen are also frequently imported into the Dominion to act as strike breakers. On the other hand, the French Canadian shoemakers have been for some years, pouring into New England; so that local unions of lasters in such

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1 Report of Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Brockville, Ont., September 22-25, 1903, pp. 18, 19, 42, 47 and 51. Ottawa, Ont., 1903.

shoe centers as Marlboro or Haverhill were able to report, in 1890, that one half of the membership consisted of French Canadians. In fact, the inferior skill of this class of lasters, many of whom bore cards from local unions in Canada, led to an agitation by the Lasters' Protective Union of the United States to bring the Canadian unions of the trade into that federation for the purpose of controlling the rules of apprenticeship prevailing in the shoe factories of the Dominion.[1]

The national movement in Canada has never attained great proportions. In 1903, it was estimated that out of 1500 local trade unions in Canada, 1300 were affiliated with international or continental associations.[2] The war against the nationals has been waged with considerable vigor, even in such strongholds of the movement as Montreal and Quebec. Many of the independent unions in Montreal have allied themselves with the international trade unions; and all new unions have been chartered as branches of such continental associations. In 1902, the Longshoremen's Union of Montreal, with 3500 members, the largest local union in Canada, an organization which had maintained its independent existence for some

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1 The Lester, Vol. II, Nos. 10 and 12, Lynn, Mass., May 15 and July 15, 1890. Also Ibid, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 4, Lynn, Mass., August 15, 1890.

2 Official Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Vol. II, No. 45, pp. 1-3, Syracuse, June, 1903.

years, joined the international union of the trade.[1] The Federated Trades and Labor Council of Montreal, which began life about 1899, as a chartered body of the American Federation of Labor with representation from four local branches of international trade unions, now claims jurisdiction over fifty such branches with a total membership of twenty five thousand.[2]

The sharpest struggle to gain an entrance into Montreal was probably waged by the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union. There are several large shoe factories in Montreal, and the city is probably the most important shoe center in Canada. For some years, the shoe workers of Montreal have been organized into independent unions. When, in 1901, the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union established a branch in Montreal, the independent unions combined for more effectual resistance against this invasion under the title Canadian Federation of Shoemakers ("Federation Canadienne des Cordonniers").[3] The independents were aided by the manufacturers, who forced some of the journey-

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1 Shoe Workers' Journal, Boston, September, 1902, p. 20.

2 American Federationist, Vol. 10, p. 1035, Washington, October, 1903.

3 The Shoe Workers' Journal, August 1902, p. 21, Boston, Mass. Also Proceedings of the Sixth Convention, Cincinnati, O., January 11-20, pp. 69 and 97. Cincinnati, 1904.

[illegible] to abandon the International Union and join the Federation of Shoemakers. But, by 1902, the International Union had succeeded in organizing four local branches, and by 1903, six branches of shoemakers. The four independent unions of the trade in Montreal still maintained, in 1905, their existence.

The city of Quebec still remains, however, the stronghold of the independent movement and the headquarters of the independent national federation of trades. At a meeting of this independent national congress of trades at Quebec, in 1903, fourty-two independent locals of that city were represented. Moreover, no Federated Trade and Labor Council has as yet been established in Quebec by the American Federation of Labor.

Mexico is for the most part still in the early stages of industrial development; and branches have been established in that country by only a few international associations. The federal trade unions which have organized local unions in Mexico are, indeed, the associations of those trades such as the railway employees and the building trades who, in our country, form the advance guard in the army of industrial invasion.

Recently, an attempt has been made to extend the jurisdiction of the continental unions over the outlying possessions of the United States, Alaska, the Panama Canal Zone,

and the islands of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has local branches in Porto Rico and Hawaii, the International Typographical Union has branches in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Alaska. The Machinists' International Union has organized subordinate devisions in Porto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone; and the Electrical Workers have chartered a branch in the Philippines.

The efforts which have been made to bring the workers in the outlying possessions of the United States into the labor movement of the continent have been most successful in Porto Rico. Locals have been established on the island by the international unions of cigar makers, longshoremen, painters, decorators and paperhangers, carpenters and joiners, machinists, printers, and others. During 1904, fourty two local unions were organized and attached to the various international associations on the continent; and, since then, the growth of the movement has steadily continued. The American Federation of Labor has issued charters to Federal Labor Unions and to local associations of agricultural workers. Central labor unions have been formed at San Juan, Ponce, and other places; and all labor organizations on the island affiliated with international bodies, are united together in the "Federacion Libre" or Free Federation of Workmen, which corresponds to one of the state branches of the American Federation of Labor. There is, however, a final

Association to the "Federacion Libre". It is an independent trades federation known as the "Federacion Regional"; all of the trade unions which compose it are exclusively confined to San Juan. During the visit of Mr. Gompers to the island in 1904, he endeavored to bring about an amalgamation of the two federations of trades, but was unsuccessful. The Federacion Regional is held by the officials of the American Federation not to be a bona fide labor organization, but is designed partly for political purposes, and is engineered by certain local politicians.[1]

In the Hawaiian Islands, practically all the white mechanics of Honolulu are members of local unions affiliated with international associations on the North American continent; and these several local unions are represented in a trades' council belonging to the American Federation of Labor. But Chinese and Japanese are now rapidly taking the places of the whites in every trade. In consequence, the white mechanics are rapidly leaving the island; and the trade union movement is declining, so that the total membership of ten local organizations, affiliated with the Honolulu Trades and Labor Council in May 1901, had by May 1903, shrunk from five hundred and one to one hundred and ninety-seven.[2]

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1 American Federationist, Vol. XI, pp. 993-997, 415, 1076, Washington, January-December, 1904.

2 The American Federationist, Vol. X, No. 12, p. 1009, Washington, December, 1903.

Number of Members in Unions Affiliated with the Honolulu Labor Council.

	May, 1901.	May, 1903.
Blacksmiths.....	20	10
Boilermakers.....	42	15
Bricklayers.....	62	17
Carpenters.....	125	50
Cement Workers.....	15	5
Electricians.....	27	25
Hackmen.....	125	50
Lathers.....	20	0
Plasterers.....	20	6
Plumbers.....	45	9
Total.....	501	187

VITA.

The author of this dissertation was born in Baltimore, May 27, 1881. His elementary education was received in the public schools of Baltimore. He became a student at the Johns Hopkins University in 1900, and was awarded the degree of bachelor of arts by that university in 1903.